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HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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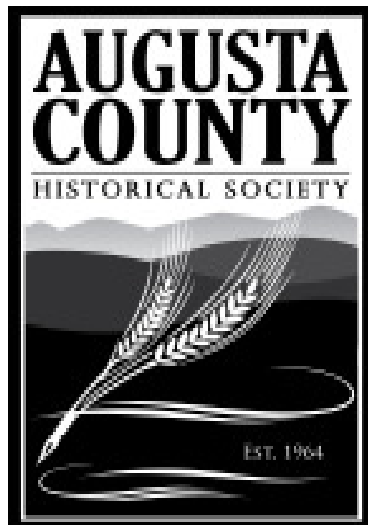
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Contents

Edward Tarr's "Virginia" By Dr. Turk McCleskey.....	Page 1
The Evolution of Architecture in the Barterbrook area By Sam Biggers.....	Page 7
Montgomery Hall Park: Va. Historic Highway Marker Ceremony By Patsye Brent Robinson.....	Page 22
Memorial Day in the Age of the Bloody Shirt By William J. Miller.....	Page 27
Why did General Lee accept the presidency of nearly bankrupt Washington College in 1865? By Daniel A. Métraux.....	Page 42
A Union soldier in Virginia Edited by Daniel A. Métraux.....	Page 52
Remembering the John East Indian Mound at Churchville By Donald W. Houser, Jr.....	Page 58
History of Churchville, Va. By the Churchville Woman's Club, 1932.....	Page 94
Antique stores in the historical consciousness By Michael Douma.....	Page 117
Books Reviews By Daniel A. Métraux.....	Page 119
Books on Civil War Leaders and Battles	
1) Michael Korda, <i>The Life and Legend of Robert E. Lee</i> ...	Page 119
2) S.C. Gwynne, <i>Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion, and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson</i>	Page 120
3) John and Charles Lockwood, <i>The Siege of Washington: The Untold Story of the Twelve Days that Shook the Nation</i>	Page 122
4) James M. McPherson, <i>Embattled Rebel: Jefferson Davis</i> ..	Page 123
5) Theodore G. Shuey, Jr., <i>Sunrise-Sunset: The Battle of Cedar Creek, A Civil War Novel</i>	Page 125

6) Robert L. O'Connell, *Fierce Patriot: The Tangled Lives of William Tecumseh Sherman*.....Page 126

7) Chris DeRose, *The President's War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War that Divided Them*Page 127

Books on American Presidents

8) Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves*.....>>>.....Page 128

9) Walter R. Borneman, *Polk: The Man Who Transformed the Presidency and America*.....Page 130

10) Charles Lachman, *A Secret Life: Grover Cleveland*Page 131

11) Edward Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City: Theodore Roosevelt*..Page 132

12) Charles Peters, *Lyndon B. Johnson*.....Page 133

Valley Baseball

13) Chaz Weaver, *The Valley Baseball League: A History of Baseball in the Shenandoah Valley*Page 134

Japanese Americans and World War II

14) Richard Reeves, *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*.....Page 135

Recent Acquisitions of ACHS, 2015.....Page 139

Index.....Page 151

ACHS officers.....Page 161

Family Heritage Program.....Page 162

Augusta Historical Bulletin: Editorial Policy

The editors of the *Augusta Historical Bulletin* welcome submissions relating to any topic or period in the history of Augusta County, Virginia, and its wider environs. Submissions may take the form of articles, research notes, edited documents, or indexes to historical documents. Other formats might be acceptable, but prospective authors of such submissions are encouraged to consult with a member of the editorial board. With rare exceptions, the *Bulletin* does not publish manuscripts that focus exclusively on genealogical matters. Authors should strive to make their contributions accessible to a broad readership. In matters of form and style, authors should adhere to the guidelines and strictures set forth in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed., or Kate L. Turabian, et al., *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed., both of which are widely available in libraries and bookstores. A style sheet, prepared by the editors of the *Bulletin*, is available upon request. A potential author should submit electronically a double-spaced Microsoft Word document of his or her proposed manuscript, with endnotes. Although images can be included in the the Word document, upon final acceptance authors will be required to submit high resolution jpg or tiff images (300 dpi).

Hard copy manuscripts or requests for style sheets should be sent to: The Augusta County Historical Society, Attention: Bulletin Editors, P.O. Box 686, Staunton, Virginia 24402-0686. Please try to submit proposed manuscripts by June 1, 2016. Queries and electronic submission may also be sent to: Nancy Sorrells (lotswife@comcast.net) or Katharine Brown (klbrown@cfw.com).



Edward Tarr's "Virginia"

By Turk McCleskey

Editor's Note: The fascinating story of an eighteenth-century African-American blacksmith as told by Virginia Military Institute history professor Dr. Turk McCleskey was the program for the nineteenth annual Augusta County Historical Society banquet held Monday, April 27, 2015, at the Stonewall Jackson Hotel and Conference Center in Staunton.

Edward "Black Ned" Tarr, a slave who purchased his freedom and moved to frontier Augusta County with his Scottish wife, bought land, was a member of a Presbyterian Church, and operated a blacksmith forge along the Great Wagon Road. The uncovering of Tarr's story has resulted in an award-winning book written by McCleskey and published by the University of Virginia Press. Here is a copy of McCleskey's talk. His book was reviewed by Society board member Sue Simmons in the 2014 Bulletin.

I'm very grateful to the Augusta County Historical Society for the chance to meet in this historic venue and to discuss our eighteenth-century Virginia. Ours is one of many colonial Virginias, as you know much better than my eastern audiences.

Easterners have urban versions, of course, most completely manifested in Williamsburg but still discernible in places like Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Yorktown. And they have a genteel planter version, visible at Mount Vernon and other historic house sites. Or a religious version we observe at Christ Church, Alexandria, or in Williamsburg at Bruton Parish Church, and at a number of other Anglican parish churches scattered across the Commonwealth's countryside. And yes, there are a few dissenting meeting houses, too, for Presbyterians and Baptists. Nor should we forget the political and economic version: the reconstructed colonial capitol and governor's palace in Williamsburg, plus the surviving colonial courthouses.

But students of George Washington early acquire an expansive view, a continental view of his Virginia, and the landmarks of Washington's larger Virginia become more complex as we go west.



Some still are architectural—Washington’s office in Winchester; the streets and block lines of downtown Winchester; or the modern recreation of scruffy little Fort Necessity. And of course there’s that stunning modern view at Pittsburgh, the twenty-first-century city looming behind the concrete footprint of eighteenth-century Fort Duquesne, at the forks of the Ohio River.

In the west, however, most landmarks of Washington’s Virginia are terrain features, not architectural constructions. In some ways, we feel more closely connected to Washington’s west by its natural grandeur. The towns of his day—Winchester and Staunton—are surrounded by high ridges, beyond which lies the Allegheny Plateau’s rough terrain. In that hard country even the simple act of crossing streams on a cold day could be a life-threatening activity.

Intriguingly, it’s also possible to glimpse other Virginias in that wild landscape, glimpses that Washington shared with thousands of ordinary frontier people. Looking backward from a modern perspective, we sometimes are surprised by just how complicated those colonial Virginian vistas could be. Notably, Washington’s Virginia was racially complex; not all whites were free, not all blacks were enslaved.

Two centuries after the fact, for example, Douglas Southall Freeman’s 1948 biography of George Washington mentioned an interracial marriage that in Freeman’s Virginia was illegal. “Moravian missionaries in 1753 found in the upper Valley a Negro smith who had as his wife a Scotch woman from Pennsylvania.”¹ Freeman was of course writing late in the era of Jim Crow, the period during which racial segregation was enforced by law, and, implicitly at least, he seems to have been intrigued by the fact that Washington’s Virginia was racially more complicated than his own.

But of course that’s not how colonial Virginia was presented in its eastern landmarks in the latter half of the twentieth century. Many of you can remember a time when few African American faces appeared in any public history version of colonial Virginia. At Monticello in the early 1970s, for example, an anonymous “servant” received a cameo reference during the dining room tour, which was a far cry from today, when guides discuss Sally Hemings in her master’s bedchamber. Also unlike my first visit to Mount Vernon, on a brutally hot day in the bicentennial summer, the site’s interpretation now includes not just the presence of slaves, but is expanding upon



the identities as well as the lives and landmarks of enslaved people. In other words, we're witnessing the reappearance of another colonial Virginia, and sites like Mount Vernon or Monticello play an important part in expanding the view.

But African-American colonial Virginia includes more than the landmarks of slavery; there also are Virginia landmarks for free blacks, like the road to Black Ned's forge. Today, we call that road by its twentieth-century name, Highway 11. You may also have met it in the nineteenth century as the Valley Pike, in the eighteenth century as the Great Wagon Road, or before European settlement as the Warriors' Road. Freeman's footnote thus offers us a place to start exploring free black colonial Virginia...but what was his source? After all, we historians are all about sources.

Freeman's footnote leads back to an early twentieth-century translation from German to English of a diary kept by a party of Moravian ministers.² In October of 1753, these ministers journeyed along the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania to what became Winston-Salem, North Carolina, a route that led them up the Valley of Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge. About five miles north of the site of modern Lexington, the ministers met an African-American blacksmith and asked him to shoe one of their horses.

The blacksmith impressed the Moravians, who described him as a free man and wrote more about him in their travel diary than any other person on their 500-mile journey. In part, the ministers appreciated that the blacksmith was a man of faith: he and his wife told the ministers they had heard Moravians preach in Pennsylvania, and they "loved people who spoke of the Saviour." Indeed, the couple owned a book of sermons by the patron of the Moravian church. The ministers also appreciated the smith's hospitality as well as his skilled help as a farrier. The next morning, the blacksmith's wife baked bread for the ministers, which would have been a great treat for travelers. Beyond their faith and kindness, however, the couple were distinctive in other ways: the African-American husband understood German well, according to these native speakers, and, as Freeman noted, the husband was black, the wife white. Having broken bread together, the ministers took their leave of the couple and resumed their journey, fording the Maury River later that morning.

The Moravian ministers thus left us quite a record, but histori-



ans have insatiable appetites for detail, so in some frustrating respects the Moravian record is silent. They didn't even name the blacksmith. I don't remember when I realized the Moravians' anonymous blacksmith was named Edward Tarr, or that Edward Tarr was the person locally known as Black Ned. Sometime before 1990, I made the connections, but the connections weren't an epiphany—it was just another matter-of-fact note. Certainly I had no premonition that Edward Tarr would drag me down the long road to his forge.

Gradually, however, Tarr piqued my curiosity, so I began collecting note cards about him, and followed him back to Pennsylvania, where he can first be glimpsed in 1732, on the banks of the Schuylkill River, at the age of about twenty-one, enslaved. Ned labored as a hammer-man in the iron-making forges of southeastern Pennsylvania until 1748. His final master—one of at least three—was a Pennsylvania yeoman, Quaker in faith, entrepreneurial in spirit, named Thomas Shute.³ One of the toughest challenges in writing this book was to figure out how to deal with Ned's masters. Gradually—and again, this was a process without an epiphany—I recognized that Ned the slave was shackled to his masters, and that their stories and his were inextricable.

Ned's life in the fiery ironworks of southeastern Pennsylvania taught him invaluable lessons that we can see being applied time and again, and when Thomas Shute died in 1748, Ned seized a life-changing opportunity. Shute's will disposed of six slaves, a large number for Pennsylvania masters. One, a female, was assigned to an heir. A second, an elderly man, was to be cared for by another heir. A third was to be sold "for the best price that can be got," and three, including Ned, were given an opportunity to buy their own freedom on a six-year installment plan. Ned made his last payment in half that time. At the age of thirty-seven, he was free.

At first glance, Ned's next action was counter-intuitive: he moved to Virginia. But remember, as late as the American Revolution, slavery existed in every colony; it's important not to scrutinize Ned's experience through a nineteenth-century lens. I argue in the book that Ned moved to Virginia for love. Remember that white wife the Moravians described? Interracial marriage was illegal in both Pennsylvania and Virginia; indeed, the penalty for it in the Quaker colony was more severe than in Virginia. But if Ned married across the forbidden color line in Pennsylvania and then moved to Virginia, he could not be prosecuted for a crime committed in a different colony.⁴



The marriage may well have been facilitated by a radical Presbyterian minister who moved from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to the Virginia frontier at the same time. And certainly Ned joined a neighborhood of white families he had known in Pennsylvania. In 1753, Ned signed his name as Edward Tarr on a pledge to pay a new Presbyterian minister at Timber Ridge meeting house, in modern Rockbridge County. Edward Tarr also signed the call inviting that minister to serve as the congregation's full-time pastor. And the following year, 1754, Edward Tarr purchased a 270-acre farm within sight of the meeting house, on the Great Wagon Road—the first free black land owner west of the Blue Ridge.⁵

Tarr's smithy became a prominent landmark for travelers and residents alike. He made it look so easy: economic success, interracial marriage, full membership in a Presbyterian congregation, acceptance by white neighbors—that was a really different colonial Virginia, wasn't it? In light of such successes, what could possibly go wrong...other than an intriguing relationship with a second white woman?

Contemporaries described the second woman as "Ned Tarr's concubine," a term we should take in its Old Testament sense of a junior or subordinate wife. Around 1760, Tarr and both women moved to a new smithy in Staunton, where we find them the following year.⁶ And that's where the book opens. I'll close with the first three paragraphs of *The Road to Black Ned's Forge*.

In the autumn of 1761, a hamlet surrounding Augusta County's courthouse officially became Staunton, the westernmost town in colonial Virginia. By contemporary standards, it was a diminutive village in a vast frontier county, and residents faced a long road to any substantial town: 150 miles to Virginia's capital in Williamsburg, 300 miles to Pennsylvania's capital in Philadelphia, over 400 miles to South Carolina's capital in Charleston. For Staunton resident Edward Tarr, however, Philadelphia and Charleston loomed claustrophobically close that fall.

On 6 October, Edward Tarr and a North Carolina white man named Hugh Montgomery stood before two justices of the peace in Staunton. Montgomery complained that he had "purchased a Negro Man Named Edward Tarr" from one Joseph Shute of Charleston, son of the late Thomas Shute, "to whome the said Edward belonged to in the Province of Pennsylvania." Tarr denied Montgomery's ownership claim, asserting instead that he had bought himself from Thomas Shute's executor and grandson, William Davis of Philadelphia.



As the magistrates weighed Montgomery's complaint, they reviewed more than a set of documents; they also explicitly considered their first-hand knowledge of Tarr's larger story. Tarr, they noted, "has resided in this County for Ten years last past and is a Freeholder." The magistrates hesitated to enslave someone they had known for a decade as a free and economically independent man.⁷

The rest of Edward Tarr's story is in his book. Thank you for your attention; I'd be delighted to answer any questions.

Endnotes

¹Douglass Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography* Vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 89.

²Adelaide L. Fries, transl. and ed., "Diary of a Journey of Moravians from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Bethabara in Wachovia, North Carolina, 1753," in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 338-39. For an alternate translation from the original German, see William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12 (1904): 147-49. All references to the Moravian visit in this paper refer to the Fries version.

³For details regarding Ned's enslavement in Pennsylvania as mentioned in this and the next paragraph, see Turk McCleskey, "The Slave, 1711-1751," in *The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2014): 65-78.

⁴*Ibid.*, 86.

⁵*Ibid.*, 80-81, 86-90.

⁶*Ibid.*, 104-107, 145-147.

⁷*Ibid.*, 1.



The Evolution of Architecture in the Barterbrook Area

By Sam Biggers

Editor's note: Augusta County's Sam Biggers is a senior at the University of Mary Washington, majoring in historic preservation. He is quickly becoming an expert in Augusta County vernacular architecture.

Introduction

Much has been written on the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley and the subsequent diffusion of the settlers' cultural habits. This includes multiple studies on the architecture of the region, with particular interest given to how different styles and details defined certain cultures and how those styles changed over time. These styles eventually changed as the settlers became increasingly assimilated over generations. For this study, I looked at how the architecture of the Barterbrook area changed over time. The period of time that I primarily focused on is from around 1800 to 1900. This period of time was one of prosperity for the area, which is evident in the houses built during the time.

Barterbrook does not have official, discernable boundaries due to its status as a farming community. For the purpose of this study, I determined a set of boundaries. This decision was not completely arbitrary, but was instead determined by historic resources. When I began, I listed all known historic structures in the "Barterbrook area." This list included far too many for a reasonable study, especially as some had very few architectural and literary resources for study. What I ended up with was a list of sixteen structures. Some of these are extant, but a number are no longer standing. For those no longer standing, I relied heavily on Ann McCleary's historic house surveys from the 1980s, as well as the Work Progress Administration's reports from the 1930s. Figure 1 shows the study area, with structures listed. Table 1 lists all sixteen structures, with estimated date of construction and current status.



General History of Barterbrook

Barterbrook, Virginia is a small farming community clustered around the intersection of Christian's Creek Road (Rte. 648) and Tinkling Spring Road (Route 608). Located in one of the most fertile sections of Augusta County, Barterbrook's success as a community was built predictably upon agriculture.

Originally settled in the mid-eighteenth century from land sold by Robert Beverley (then his son Peter) known as the "Beverley Patent," the original land owners in the area held hundreds of acres in some cases. Though many of those tracts have been divided up countless times over the past two hundred plus years, the principal economic activity of agriculture in the area has stayed constant. Many of the houses listed in this project are either still or were recently part of operating farms.

Barterbrook was never a thriving town, nor could ever be considered a town during its history, but Barterbrook was an established place as far back as the early nineteenth century with roads taking travelers directly to places like Staunton, Fishersville, and Stuarts Draft. Situated on a thoroughfare between the larger Stuarts Draft to the south and Fishersville to the north, there was little need for Barterbrook to ever become larger than a small community. Both Stuarts Draft and Fishersville became more prominent settlements as a result of better forms of transportation during the late nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries, namely the railroad and the highway. Route 250 connected Fishersville to larger cities such as Staunton and Waynesboro, and the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad also passed through town. Stuarts Draft served as a stop on the Norfolk and Western Railroad and had Route 340, which connected the community to Waynesboro and points northward. These communities, which were similar to Barterbrook at one time, grew to be much more established towns. Barterbrook simply became a stop on the road between Fishersville and Stuarts Draft, and never anything more. Because growth and development occurred around and outside the community, Barterbrook never truly shed its status as a farming community.

That's not to say that Barterbrook was not a prosperous community. In J. Lewis Peyton's *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, Barterbrook was described as being situated in a "fertile and beautiful section of the county." That account was from the early 1880s, a time of prosperity for Barterbrook. The community of "about 50" was

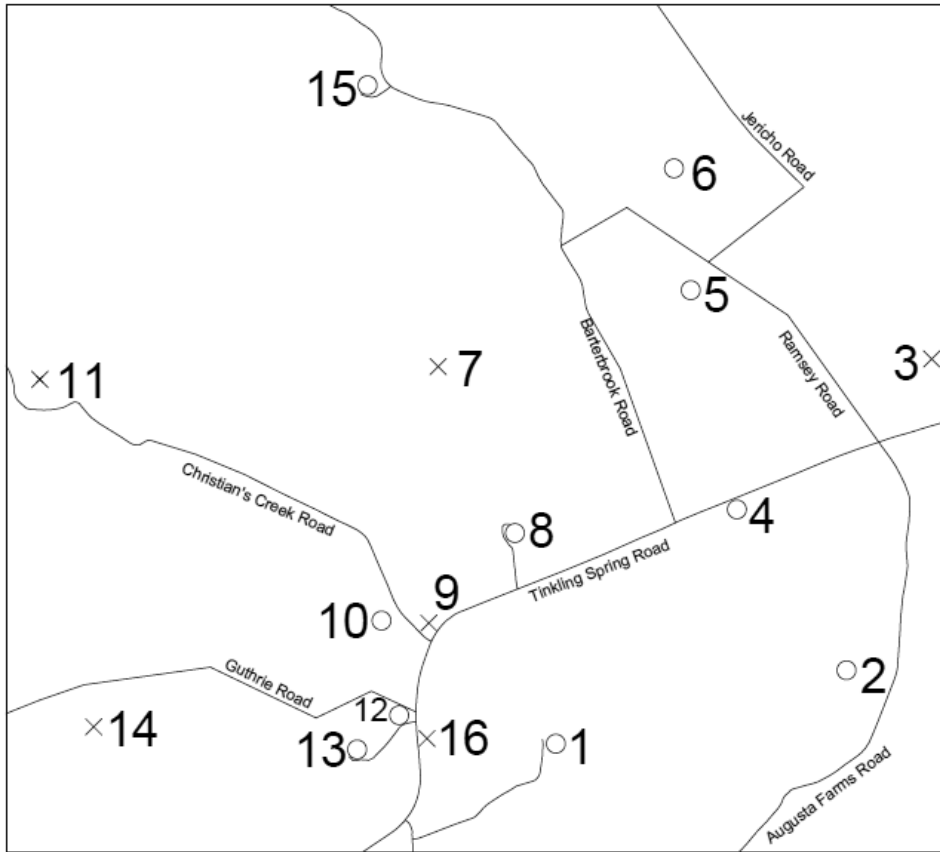


Figure 1: Map of Barterbrook. Extant structures are denoted with an "O", while structures that are no longer standing are shown with an "X". (Biggers)

successful enough to sustain "two physicians, a flouring mill, post-office, and [a] smithy."² This account shows that though the primary economic activity was agriculture, there were other activities taking place in the community. In the same account, Peyton describes Stuarts Draft as having a "population of about 50," making it roughly the same size as Barterbrook. So even as late as the 1880s, Barterbrook and Stuarts Draft weren't very different in terms of population.

The Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley and Barterbrook

The diffusion of architectural styles through the Shenandoah Valley and the influence of settlers' nationality on building styles is a topic that has received a fair amount of attention in the academic



Table 1: Houses in study area (Biggers)

#	Name	Date of Construction ¹	Extant?
1	Barterbrook	ca. 1830	Yes
2	Stony Point	1852	Yes
3	Ramsey House	ca. 1830	Yes
4	J.H. Stump House	ca. 1820-1840	Yes
5	Andrew McComb House	ca. 1865-1875	Yes
6	Lone Beech Farm	ca. 1830	Yes
7	William McComb House	ca. 1850	No
8	Mrs. J.B. McComb House	ca. 1840-1870	Yes
9	Joe McCray House	ca. 1830-1850	No
10	Montezuma	ca. 1820-1840	Yes
11	Mrs. Mary E. Gilkeson House	ca. 1850	No
12	Patterson House	ca. 1870-1885	Yes
13	William McClanahan House	ca. 1810-1830	Yes
14	Guthrie-Ott Servant House	ca. 1860-1870	No
15	John Imboden House	ca. 1830-1850	Yes
16	Hoyt Log House	ca. 1860-1880	No

world. The two main groups of people who settled in the Shenandoah Valley when the area was opened up to settlement in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century were the Germans and the Scotch-Irish. Both groups primarily migrated south from Pennsylvania. The Germans tended to settle in the northern, or lower, section of the valley. With them, they brought a building tradition that was unique. The German settlers typically constructed square, three room stone houses that were heated by a central chimney. This German house type, which was common in the Valley, was known as the Flurkuchenhaus, and within Augusta County is common in the northern section of the county. There are no known Flurkuchenhaus examples in the Barterbrook area.

In the Barterbrook area, the settlers were largely of Scotch-Irish descent. Many, if not all, of the first land holders in the Barterbrook area were either from Ulster, in the north of Ireland, or had very close familial ties to that country. This likely resulted in a very different style of construction in the area, but one that is difficult to study.



The houses used in this study are entirely from the nineteenth century, and many of them date from the second quarter of the century, placing the study sample a considerable time after the original settlement. It stands to reason that the original settlers would have constructed buildings on their land, but any evidence of that early construction has faded with time. That very fact, however, can tell us something about the socio-economic makeup of the area during the time that the current extant structures were constructed.

Economic makeup of Barterbrook

As stated earlier, Barterbrook was a thriving agricultural community during the nineteenth century. This is evidenced by the type of houses built during this time, and also in how the houses grew. The majority of the houses in the area were constructed of brick. Mineral and clay deposits are abundant in the Valley (especially in the Barterbrook area), making brick production viable. Even though the materials were ample, the process of making bricks was much more labor-intensive and time-consuming than simply building a house out of timber. As there were also ample timber resources in the area, frame or log houses were much easier to construct. With many of the extant historic structures in the area constructed of brick, one may feel that they replaced earlier frame or log houses and that their construction was a sign of success and permanence.

Building a brick house was not the only sign of prosperity, however. Though brick houses were likely viewed as fancier and more permanent, frame and log houses were still common and were ornamented accordingly. The Joe McCray house (log) and the W.B. Patterson house (frame) are two examples of this distinction. Situated in the heart of the Barterbrook community, the McCray house was built in the I-house plan (the I-house form will be explained further in this article) and dates to 1830-1850, making it one of the earlier houses in Barterbrook. This house was added on to multiple times during its history, eventually almost doubling the size of the original structure. First, a kitchen was added, followed by a dining room, the enclosure of the back porch, and finally a summer kitchen. With multiple additions, there is every reason to believe that those living in the McCray house during its history were prosperous. This is also evident in some of the ornamentation, such as a Chinese railing on

the back porch, which was later enclosed. The Patterson house, on the other hand, was built right around the height of Barterbrook's prosperity. Built around 1870, the Patterson house was built as a frame structure, even though the majority of the houses in the area, such as the neighboring William McClanahan house (ca. 1810-1830) and Montezuma (ca. 1820-1840), were built primarily of brick. Like the McCray house, the Patterson house is situated in the heart of Barterbrook, right next to the intersection of Guthrie and Tinkling Spring Roads. And like the McCray house, it was decorated in a fashion that was typical to the area. The house had a jig-sawn porch, carved window lintels, and a bracketed cornice, and also followed the prevalent I-house plan, showing that local styles could still be manifested even in a frame house.³ Also on the property is a circa 1860 brick servant house, which predates the house. This suggests that the Patterson house was not the first on the property, and that at the time of the house's construction, the owners were relatively established.



Figure 2: Joe McCray House A 1981 view of the house. Photo used with permission from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia. Photo cropped by Sam Biggers.



The Shenandoah Valley “established itself as the primary center of wheat production in the state” during the first part of the nineteenth century.⁴ The Valley was known as the “breadbasket of the Confederacy”⁵ during the Civil War, when the Confederates heavily relied on the wheat produced in the Valley to feed its armies. In 1850, Augusta County was one of the largest producers of wheat in the Shenandoah Valley along with Rockingham County. Though both counties went back and forth in terms of levels of wheat production, they remained the most prolific in the Valley during the period between 1850 and 1880. Barterbrook was described in an early 1880s account as being situated “in a fertile and beautiful section of the county.” Accounts such as these were usually meant to heighten reputation and perhaps flatter, but it is clear that Barterbrook was in a section of the county that was prime for agriculture. Every single one of the extant structures in this survey was added onto after initial construction, showing at the very least a greater need for space, or possibly even an improvement in economic standing. As Barterbrook was positioned in a fertile section of one of the largest wheat-producing counties in the Shenandoah Valley, its citizens’ success comes as little surprise.

This is perfectly evidenced by Barterbrook, the house. Named after the surrounding community, Barterbrook was constructed in 1826 by Reuben Holt. Barterbrook is a very atypical house for the area. Most houses in the area followed the I-house plan. Barterbrook, on the other hand, was built in a three-part Palladian form, and is only one of four surviving three-part Palladian examples in the county. Popularized by Thomas Jefferson in Albemarle and Nelson Counties, the three-part Palladian form came from William Morris’ book *Select Architecture* and consisted of a central gable block flanked by two wings. Barterbrook is one of the earliest of these examples in Augusta County, and the bricks are laid in Flemish bond on all sides, which is very unusual for the time. Flemish bond was a popular bond to have on the façade of houses, as it was more decorative. Because the façade was the side of the house that travelers and guests would see the most, decorative bonds were employed, especially in the Barterbrook area. Thus, it can be presumed that Barterbrook was laid entirely in Flemish bond as a symbol of wealth or status, though McCleary asserts that “none of the Augusta County examples [of the three-part Palladian form] are extremely stylish examples of the Jeffersonian styles.”⁶



Figure 3: Barterbrook A 1968 view of the house. Photo used with permission from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia. Photo cropped by Sam Biggers.

I-House Prevalence

"The brick house, and especially the brick 'I-house,' was the mansion of the valley." – Pam Simpson⁷

The building type that defined the Valley during the nineteenth century was the I-house. Named because of its prevalence in the states of Illinois and Indiana (hence the 'I' designation), the I-house became a popular building type in Barterbrook during the nineteenth century, especially among the brick houses in the area. The I-house is generally described as a single-pile, central passage plan, where a staircase and hallway generally divide two rooms. In the Mid-Atlantic states, early I-houses were similar to the ones found in the Shenandoah Valley later during the nineteenth century, clearly showing the diffusion of cultural values into the Valley during that time. In fact, by the mid-eighteenth century, the I-house had fallen largely out of favor in Pennsylvania, giving way to a Georgian model, which consisted of a two-room deep, or double-pile, plan. The early Mid-Atlantic I-house became popular in the South, where the single-pile plan was maintained, as well as the two-story, two-room plan with a central hallway.



One of the earliest houses built in Barterbrook that is still extant is the William McClanahan house, estimated to have been constructed between 1810 and 1830. The McClanahan house fits the Southern I-house designation perfectly. The house is a two-story, brick, single-pile, central passage plan, with a staircase in the central hallway. The main block is abutted by an exterior brick chimney on each gable end. The façade is laid in Flemish bond, which was largely viewed as a fancier bond style, due to its complexity and decorativeness. In the early twentieth century, a two-story, two-room ell was added on to the rear of the house. Multiple houses in the area have seen two-story ell additions added on during their history, such as the J.H. Stump house and the Mrs. J.B. McComb house.

Up the road, the I-house forms continued. The J.H. Stump House was originally built in an asymmetrical two-room plan, where one room was larger than the other. In this form, the house had two front doors, which was a relatively common feature in Georgian style houses found in the Mid-Atlantic states in the nineteenth century. Likely after the Civil War, the J.H. Stump house was changed to match the prevalent central-passage I-house plan, which consisted of an addition of a central hallway and stairway. This change shows how prevalent the central-passage plan was in the area at the time. Figure 4 shows this change.

Even further up the road, the Mrs. J.B. McComb House and the Ramsey House also both closely follow the I-house plan. In fact, the McComb house has an almost identical original floor plan to that of the William McClanahan house and the J.H. Stump house, which shows the prevalence of the I-house in Barterbrook during the early nineteenth century.

Other houses, such as the Andrew McComb house, which was built after the Civil War, show that the I-house style, though adapted and changed, had remained in the Barterbrook area. Though there are some stylistic differences between the earlier houses in the area and the Andrew McComb house, the original floor plan remains largely similar to that of earlier houses. Some details had changed, however. Namely, the chimneys were moved from the exterior to the interior. Early Barterbrook houses such as the J.H. Stump house and the J.B. McComb house have brick exterior end chimneys. By the time of the construction of the Andrew McComb house, interior chimneys

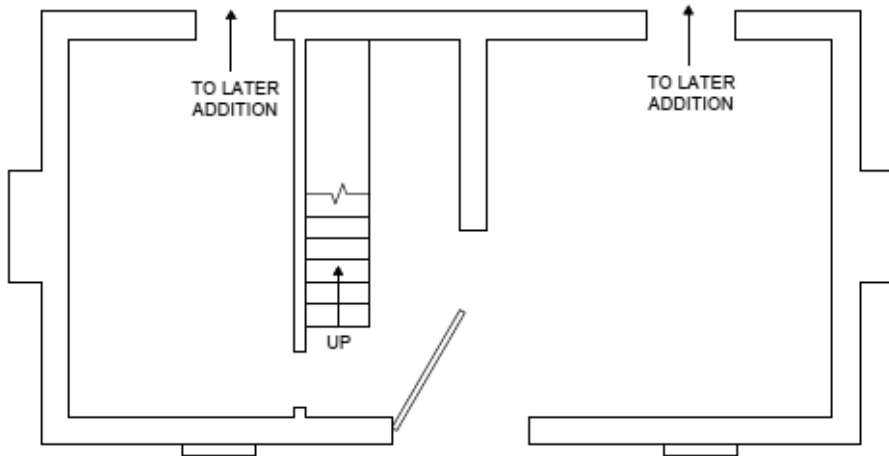
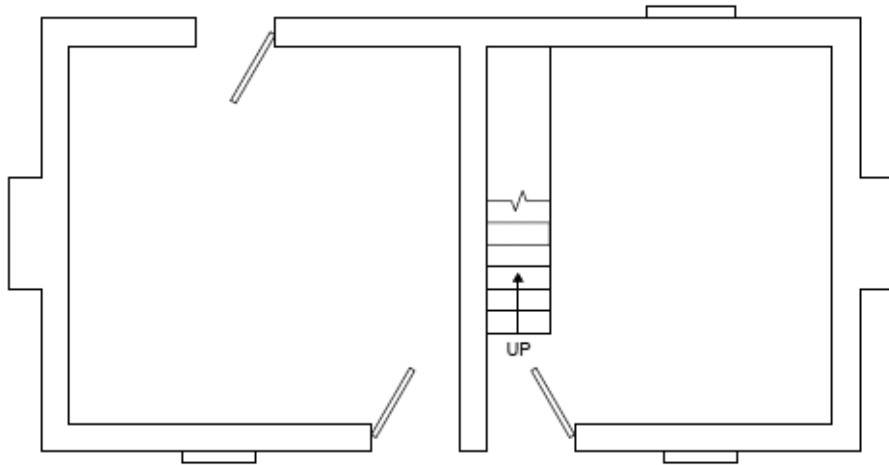


Figure 4: J.H. Stump House The top picture shows the original layout of the house. The bottom picture shows its change to a central-passage plan. (Biggers)

were preferred to exterior chimneys, as is also evident in the W. Brown Patterson house. The Andrew McComb house's chimneys are also notably more decorative than those of earlier houses. This ornamentation points toward the prosperity of the area during that period of the nineteenth century.

While most of the houses in the area followed the I-house plan, there are some that deviated from the plan. The previously-mentioned



Barterbrook is the most obvious example, but Montezuma, Stony Point, and the Mrs. Mary E. Gilkerson house also highlight different plan ideals in the area. Montezuma, situated in the heart of Barterbrook, is one of the earliest houses in the survey, dating to around 1820. Anne McCleary notes in her 1981 survey of the house that “the rather unusual plan and later additions make it difficult to determine the original date and plan.”⁸ And indeed, the original plan is very difficult to determine, as there have been multiple complex additions to the structure. Porches were built and enclosed. Kitchens were created. Partition walls were added, and as the structure grew in size, the front door moved. What’s left now is a floor plan that does not match any other plans in the area. It could very well be that the original structure was very basic (possibly one-room or two-rooms), and that the house was added onto further.

Though the single-pile plan was common in the Barterbrook area, there were some double-pile plan houses in the area. The Mrs. Mary E. Gilkerson house was one example of this plan, as was the Guthrie-Ott main house. Both houses were no longer standing by the time of McCleary’s survey, but one account by Mrs. H.L. Riley, a local citizen, recalls the plan of the Guthrie-Ott main house as double-pile. Mrs. Riley also recalled that the Guthrie-Ott house was “one of the fanciest brick houses” in the area.⁹ The Mrs. Mary E. Gilkerson house was described similarly in a survey completed in 1936 by the Works Progress Administration. There was no date given to the Guthrie-Ott house, but the Gilkerson house was estimated to have been built around 1820.

The final house that follows a different plan is Stony Point. While we can only speculate upon the reasons as to why houses like Montezuma, the Mrs. Mary E. Gilkerson house, and the Guthrie-Ott house were built in a different fashion, Stony Point’s history is much clearer. Stony Point was built in 1852 by Reverend Robert L. Dabney, who served as the minister at the nearby Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church from 1847-1853. Reverend Dabney oversaw the reconstruction of the church, a brick Greek Revival structure that replaced the earlier stone building.¹⁰ The use of the Greek Revival style, a popular style in America during the time, shows the influence popular American styles had on Reverend Dabney. This influence is reflected in Stony Point, which was built in another popular style for its time: Gothic Revival. The Gothic Revival style obviously influenced Reverend Dabney much more than Barterbrook’s prominent I-house plan, and his use of stone in construction show his willingness to construct a house that was different from others in the area.



Figure 5: Stony Point A 1973 view of the house. Photo used with permission from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia. Photo cropped by Sam Biggers.

Molded brick cornice

One feature that was common during part of the nineteenth century in the Barterbrook area was the molded brick cornice. McCleary cites the molded brick cornice multiple times, stating that it “reflects local styles from the 1830s.”¹¹ And indeed, the molded brick cornice does not appear on the William McClanahan house, the earliest house in the survey. The William McClanahan house is believed to have been built around 1817, when it was given by James Moffett to his daughter upon her marriage to William McClanahan.¹² The J.H. Stump house, which is believed to have been built around 1819-1820 (according to tax records), is the next oldest house in the area, and the earliest in the area to have a molded brick cornice. Other houses dating to the same period, such as Barterbrook (1826) and Montezuma (ca. 1820) also have elaborate molded brick cornices. By the 1830s, however, it appears that the molded brick cornice fell out of favor, with both the ca. 1830 Ramsey house and the ca. 1830 Lone Beech Farm both returning to elaborate wooden cornices.



Figure 6: Molded Brick Cornice Detail on the façade of the J.H. Stump House. (Biggers)



Figure 7: Ramsey House A 1973 view of the house. Photo used with permission from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia. Photo cropped by Sam Biggers.



Though the ca. 1830-1850 Imboden house marks a return of brick cornices, they are corbelled rather than molded. And after that point in time, the primary cornice material in the area was wood.

Conclusion

Barterbrook is a community that was built on a foundation of agriculture. Situated in one of the most prosperous sections of Augusta County, Barterbrook thrived during the nineteenth century. This prosperity is shown through the houses constructed during that time. Many of the houses constructed in the area during the nineteenth century were brick, which indicates wealth and shows an intention of permanence from the citizens. Though the I-house was a popular plan, there were other plans used in the area, such as the Gothic Revival cottage Stony Point, Montezuma, which had an indistinguishable plan, and the Mrs. Mary E. Gilkerson and the Guthrie-Ott houses, which both followed a double-pile plan. Overall, while there were some differences in houses constructed during the nineteenth century in Barterbrook, many of the houses in the area were very similar, which shows how the Barterbrook community viewed architectural styles.

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Endnotes

¹The estimated construction dates listed are taken from Ann McCleary's house surveys in the 1980s.

²J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Bridgewater, republished 1953), 267.

³Ann McCleary, "W. Brown Patterson House," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0887.

⁴Kenneth E. Koons, "'The Staple of Our Country': Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia," in *After the Backcountry*, ed. Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000) 3.

⁵*Ibid.*, 7.

⁶Ann McCleary, Study Unit: Historic Resources in Augusta County, Virginia, Eighteenth Century to Present (Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, 1983), 68.

⁷Pamela H. Simpson, "The Molded Brick Cornice in the Valley of Virginia," *The Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* 4 (1980): 30.

⁸Ann McCleary, "Guthrie-Patterson House 'Montezuma,'" Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0888.

⁹Ann McCleary, "Guthrie-Ott Servant House and Main House Site," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0882.

¹⁰Ann McCleary, "Stony Point," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0031.

¹¹Ann McCleary, "Barterbrook," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0022.

¹²Ann McCleary, "William McClanahan House," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, file no. 07-0793.



Montgomery Hall Park

Virginia Historic Highway Marker ceremony

By Patsye Brent Robinson

Editor's note: On Friday, November 11, 2015, at 1 p.m., a Virginia Historic Highway Marker was unveiled at Montgomery Hall Park in Staunton, Va. In advance of the marker unveiling, a short program took place in the park building. The keynote address about the history of the park was delivered by Patsye Brent Robinson. The text of her speech is below.

The history of Montgomery Hall Mansion [now Montgomery Hall Park in Staunton] is more than just that it was built in 1820 by John Peyton and his wife. On the first floor, there was a reception hall, library, conservatory, dining room, and kitchen/pantry. The second floor had ten bedrooms and four bathrooms.

In 1847, the owner died and the property changed hands many times. Around 1900, the house burned down and T.J. Collins & Sons Architect designed a new house...and a new guest house that included a bowling alley, a gym, and guest rooms. (Sad to say, the guest house was torn down in 1973. Due to non-use, it fell into decay and the owners decided it was most economical to destroy it.)

So, let's focus on the main house. Now how did the owners take care of this very large house and approximately 141 acres of land? With slave labor. People (our ancestors) were captured, smuggled onto boats, and brought across an ocean to this new land. The job was ours. WE did the cooking, cleaning, planted the crops, worked the fields, and took care of the livestock. Our sweat and blood is in this land. Our forefathers were among the fifty slaves who worked in this house and our forefathers were among the one hundred slaves who worked the fields.

Oh! And why do I mention this here and now? Because it happened right here to our forefathers. All 150 of them owned by John and Ann Peyton insured the profitability of this mansion and none of them were paid a dime for their efforts. But there is more, at the bottom of that hill (where Montgomery Avenue crosses the railroad tracks) if you looked to your left there used to be a long one-story building



with a full-length porch. That building was the auction house. People would bring their slaves there to sell them. I have seen the auction houses in Charleston, S.C.; but I never thought of them being in Staunton. What a traumatic experience. Families torn asunder, right here. Sister from brother, father from son, mother from her daughter...never to be seen again. No wonder no Black history was taught in our schools. There was none. It had been destroyed.

Time passed. We had the Civil War...Reconstruction....and, in December 1945, Rev. T.J. Jemison represented the Negro Ministers Alliance (Rev. R. Pannell, Chairperson) and made a request to the Staunton City Council for a place where Black children could play. No resolution was given to this request.

As spokesperson for the Black Community of the city of Staunton, Va., Dr. C.J. Waller addressed the city council again in January 1946 with a request for programs for the youth of the Black community. This became necessary because the Black community could not use Gypsy Hill Park. Black children had nowhere they could go and play. African Americans had to go to Fairview Cemetery for picnics and recreational outings. Mr. Allen Jackson and members of several Black organizations requested the use of Gypsy Hill Park for at least one day a week or to have their own park. The city council finally agreed to allow the Negro population to use Gypsy Hill Park only one day a year. That one day a year happened to be Labor Day and the pool was immediately drained and cleaned the day after we used it.

Later, an interested citizen donated 141 acres for development for recreation. On June 14, 1946, Alexander and Elizabeth Thomas sold the Montgomery Hall Mansion property for \$42,500 to the city of Staunton on the agreement that the city would use the property for a Negro Park. Rev. Dr. T.J. Jemison became the voice for the Negro community. The city of Staunton worked with the Black community to establish a governing committee, which would be responsible for the operation of the park. The city offered very little financial support.

A number of Black professional and business members worked on the Park Committee: Rev. T.J. Jemison, Kenneth L. Jones, John Johnson, Gertrude Caul, Alonzo Harden, John T. Miller, John Johnston, Dr. Julius Carrol, Dr. C.J. Waller, Dr. John Chiles, Allen Jackson, Irene Givens, and Helen Becks. They poured their hearts, souls, and money into seeing that the park had the funds and equipment it needed to operate.



During the summer, there were swimming and tennis lessons from nine a.m. until noon. From noon to six p.m., you paid a very small fee to swim in the pool and you played tennis for free. There were also arts and crafts activities, basketball, and horseshoes in the afternoon. There was playground equipment (slides, swings, merry-go-round, and bouncy toys) for the pre-k group and dancing by the juke box in the dance hall.

Why do I mention these things? Because something wonderful happened here. On this same land where 200 years ago we were stripped of our dignity, religion, language, our knowledge even of who we are as a people, 125 years later this very same spot has become a place of redemption. For that generation, there was a sense of security, which allowed us to believe, one, in ourselves, two, to hope that we could look forward to successful, lucrative futures, and three, to actually at last have a history!! We belonged somewhere and could actually name our parents and grandparents; we knew and recognized our relatives.

With the integration of public schools in 1966, all public facilities became available for use, including Gypsy Hill Park, and everyone started using it. The Montgomery Hall Park Committee was disbanded and the city stopped bothering to even cut the grass or send police patrols through it. Montgomery Hall Park became overrun with grass, weeds, and litter. Often, the lights weren't turned on at night and it became a hangout for illegal transactions that many feared. This condition went on for over ten years.

In 1974, The Booker T. Washington Alumni Committee (with Willie S. Washington as President, and Patsye B. Robinson as Spokesperson for the group) petitioned city council to restore and upgrade Montgomery Hall Park. The city was asked for support because they had budgeted for the past ten years for maintenance of the park and had failed to use the funds (no caretaker on the grounds and not even the grass was being cut). This request was not received favorably and it took many appearances at council meetings before we convinced them to investigate the possibility of renovating and reopening Montgomery Hall Park. T.J. Collins Architect and Sons was asked to do a study of the land and buildings and provide a recommendation of whether the house was structurally sound and give a recommendation for use of the land. Walter Brown researched available grants to fund the renovations. Rev. Leroy Roberts, then current pastor at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, checked past city budgets and alerted me to the fact that although it had not been



spent, funding had been set aside for basic maintenance at Montgomery Hall Park. If not used for another project (and that would have been illegal), then we had the seed money we needed for the project.

The Booker T. Washington Alumni Committee submitted plans to the city to do upgrades and restoration. Blueprints were drawn up (in three phases) by T.J. Collins Architect and Sons who estimated it would cost \$750,000 to complete the total project. The city of Staunton approved the plans and agreed to pay \$25,000 for improvements. However, when applying for grants, the municipality must provide one quarter of the cost of the project. By downgrading the project to three phases, we were able to bring the price for Phase I to \$400,000. The \$10,000 budgeted during the past ten years but not used provided the \$100,000 (one quarter) we needed to apply for the grant. The city applied for a Federal Grant from the Commission of Outdoor Recreation and it was approved. While Phase I was used and completed, Phases II and III were never finalized. In 1975, the park was opened for use to the entire community of Staunton.

We must NOT forget what has happened here. The pool, tennis courts, basketball courts, playground area, the dance hall, the three picnic shelters at the top of the hill, the fitness trail must be there for our children, grandchildren and, yes even our great grands to play on. We must leave some evidence that we walked through life here. The story must be told and retold so that the footprints of Black Americans are found across America. Let them say that these people were a progressive group, they helped improve the lives of their children. They inspired them to cultivate their bodies and minds and encouraged them to set high goals for themselves.

I moved from Staunton in 1985 and there were about 100 acres of undeveloped land at MHP. I hope you will consider completing Phases II and III of the Master Plan. My heart is in the theatre and it was my dream that we could provide open air theatre productions in the park. At that time I was on the board of ShenanArts and active with Theatre Wagon. I know there is a new theatre group in town now. The theatre would certainly get a lot of use. We must expose our children to the fine arts early in their lives. We must encourage them to study the maths, sciences, technologies, art, music, and theatre. Those are the areas that will lead to enlightenment.

We are grateful for the healing that has come to our land and

for the efforts of other nationalities that have worked so hard to help right the wrongs of long ago. You are truly appreciated. Thank you to the city of Staunton for your progressive vision, which has allowed us to reach this moment in time and thank you to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for adding Montgomery Hall Park to the list of historic locations in our land. May God bless our nation with lasting peace, and I pray that that peace and enlightenment will begin in the place I proudly call my hometown – Staunton, Va. May God bless all of you.

Montgomery Hall Park I-32

Montgomery Hall Park, a municipal park for African Americans during the segregation era, opened on 4 July 1947. The Rev. T. J. Jemison of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, an African American community leader, persuaded Staunton City Council to purchase about 150 acres for the project. The land had been part of John Howe Peyton's Montgomery Hall plantation, established early in the 19th century. A committee of African American citizens appointed by City Council managed the park, which featured a swimming pool, bowling alley, and picnic facilities and drew crowds from throughout central Virginia. Staunton's park system was desegregated late in the 1960s.



Marker ceremony: Laten Bechtel, Staunton Vice-Mayor Ophie Kier, DHR representative David Edwards, Pastor Willie Washington, Francisco Newman Jr., and Bertie Pannell. (Photo by Nancy Sorrells)



Memorial Day in the Age of the Bloody Shirt:

Thomas L. Rosser's Belligerent Thornrose Cemetery Speech of 1889

By William J. Miller

Editor's note: The Society is pleased to once again to publish an article from historian and author William J. Miller. Miller taught at Stuart Hall School in Staunton. He is the author of several books on the Civil War period, including Decision at Tom's Brook, which will be published in the spring of 2016.

Though accepted as fact, the statement that the American Civil War ended in 1865 does not reflect the truth. It is true that the Confederate armies laid down their arms in 1865, and it is true that the soldiers, sailors, surgeons, nurses, teamsters, and all the rest began going home in 1865 to begin new lives. And it is true that millions of slaves emerged irrevocably from bondage to freedom in 1865. To assert, however, that the war ceased and peace ensued simply because the South was reduced to exhaustion and forced to reluctantly say "uncle" through gritted teeth is to define war very narrowly. For decades after 1865, the conflicting principles remained, as did the rancor and the bitterness, and the conflict of words continued, as did the violence, albeit on a smaller scale.

Though most Americans undoubtedly hoped for progress toward healing and reunification, many in those years chose to nurse resentment and animosity. In the South, where the sting of defeat was still sharply felt, former Confederates struggled with questions that Northerners had no need to address: Did the surrender of their armies, Southerners wondered, require them to surrender their principles? How did one come to terms with the present and the future without forgetting the past? How did one let go of principles without abandoning those who had given their lives for those principles?

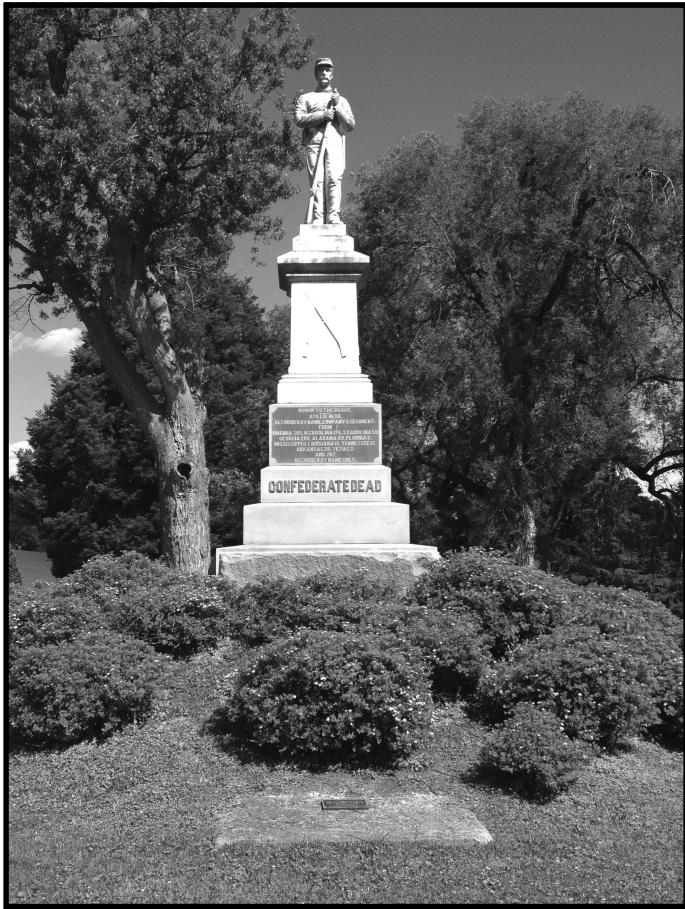
On Memorial Day each year, the questions of reconciliation – between North and South, past and future, love and abandonment – bit most sharply. In a speech in Stonewall Cemetery in Winchester,



Virginia, U.S. Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama urged his fellow former Confederates to keep moving ahead. "One flag now floats over us," Morgan told thousands of listeners in 1879, "and that flag commands our allegiance. . . Ours is no longer a divided country. The causes of sectional strife have been removed, and our strifes in the past have taught us our duties so completely that there is small danger we will go astray again." Ten years later, however, despite progress toward reconciliation, the country was still divided. A resurgence of sectional strife led to an eruption of vituperation in, of all places, idyllic Thornrose Cemetery in Staunton, Virginia. Thomas L. Rosser, one of the more controversial public figures in Virginia during an era filled with rancorous controversy, clouded the pure air above Thornrose with such expressions of animosity, enmity, and loathing for the people of the North that editors printed his words in newspapers across the continent. The ideas Rosser expressed on the hill in Thornrose, and the public's reaction to them, exposes a nation that was, twenty-four years after the armies went home, still far from reconciled over the issues that had led to war.

At the root of the story lay the remains of hundreds of Confederate soldiers buried in Thornrose. In the early post-war years, the Augusta Ladies Memorial Association was the driving force behind efforts to protect and care for the Confederate dead, and hundreds of remains were gathered from nearby battlefields and reinterred near the highest point in cemetery. In 1870, citizens created the Augusta Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead, commonly referred to as the AMA. The association's constitution called for "the preservation, care and annual decoration" of Confederate graves in Thornrose and throughout Augusta County. In September 1888, AMA ceremonies marked the dedication of a monument raised over the graves of 1,570 Confederate soldiers.¹

Survivors of the war, North and South, considered Memorial Day a sacred occasion. Newspaper reports state that the crowds at Memorial Day ceremonies in the post-war years sometimes numbered in the thousands. Virginians, who had seen more of the war than the residents of any other state, had much to memorialize. Recent research suggests that Virginia sent more men to fight for the Confederacy than did any other state. From a recruitment pool in Virginia of approximately 174,000 men of military age, some 155,000 served



An estimated 5,000 visitors attended the September 1888 dedication of the monument to the Confederate dead buried in Thornrose Cemetery. A delegation of young women from every state represented in the cemetery unveiled the monument, and Governor Fitzhugh Lee delivered the principal address. (Courtesy William Miller)

in Confederate forces, making the military service rate among men of the Commonwealth eighty-nine percent. Between 20,000 to 30,000 of those men died, and many more emerged from the conflict maimed or chronically ill. Few in Virginia escaped untouched by the war. In the Shenandoah Valley, especially, the losses in wealth and property were ruinous.² It is understandable, then, that those men and women who had endured the war in Confederate Virginia wished to believe that their sacrifices and sufferings had not been meaningless. Gen. Jubal Early might have articulated their feelings when he addressed a Memorial Day audience in Winchester:



The men whose bodies now lie in this cemetery gave their lives for what they not only believed to be, but what I insist was, a just and righteous cause. That cause was lost, but that did not prove that it was wrong; for the history of the world abounds with instances in which might has proved more powerful than right.

Early, of course, had to admit defeat, and he also affirmed that “we have accepted the result with the determination to abide the issue as a final settlement of the questions which led to the conflict” but he would not admit to having been wrong. “If ever I repudiate, disown, or apologize for the cause for which Lee fought and Jackson died,” he declared, “may the lightning of Heaven blast me, and the scorn of all good women and true men be my portion.”³

So the country remained divided because the right and wrong of the principles had not been accepted. Memorial Day in the decades immediately following the war was not a national holiday in which all Americans united in honoring sacrifices made for a common cause. It was not a day for reaffirming shared principles, but rather was just the opposite. Memorial Day was an opportunity for Americans in the various states and sections to reaffirm their differences. While various Northern communities might honor those who had died to save the Union, survivors of the Confederacy likewise clung to the principles for which they had fought. With fierce conviction, the Confederate generation instructed their children to honor the ideals of the Old South. Second generation Confederates, those who had been children during the war and had been raised in the post-war South, embraced the concept that “defeat hath its glories no less than victory.” They accepted that among their obligations was, as one Georgian put it, “the exhibition of a loyal respect to the recollections and impulses of a Confederate past. . . .”⁴ In early 1889, as civic groups throughout the North made plans for Memorial Day ceremonies to honor their dead as martyrs to worthy principles, groups across the South, including the men and women of the Augusta Memorial Association, hoped to do likewise – but for an entirely different set of principles.

While Memorial Day and its hundreds or thousands of ceremonies across the country was by its nature a contentious day, the divisions so evident each Memorial Day prevailed in national politics all through the year. The Republicans, the party of Lincoln, dominated



public debate and policy in the North while the Democratic Party dominated across the South. All seventeen Southern states, from Delaware to Texas, committed every electoral vote to the Democratic candidate for president between 1880 and 1892. The region was known as the Solid South, and its unified strength, and the methods of ensuring that unshakeable unity, became perhaps the dominant political issue of the era. The Republicans chose to fight the Solid South with a strategy that became known as “waving the Bloody Shirt.”

The Bloody Shirt remains one of the more powerful and enduring symbols in U.S. history. The origin of the phrase remains obscure, mainly because the term does not refer to an actual shirt. Legend holds that when U.S. Congressman Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts stood in the House of Representatives in 1871 to decry widespread violence and intimidation against former slaves and their white allies in Southern states, he emphasized his point by flourishing a bloodstained shirt and claiming that it had belonged to a battered victim of a Southern mob. No evidence substantiates the story that Butler actually used a bloody shirt, however, and the term seems to have been created as a metaphor.⁵ Like most influential Northern politicians, Butler was a Republican, as were most of the former slaves in the South. Most white Southerners, on the other hand, were Democrats. When evidence of voter intimidation and election fraud in the South indicated that Southern Democrats were fixing elections, Northerners found it both easy and politically expedient to rail against the morality of Southerners. The Southern Democrats, likewise were eager to paint the Northern Republicans as demagogues who trolled for votes by manufacturing or exaggerating sensational tales of blood and murder. If a Republican mentioned the “outrages” against Southern blacks, Southerners would immediately label him a propagandist who was “waving the bloody shirt” to win votes by inflaming old animosities from the 1860s.

As the years passed, and evidence of abuses against Southern Republicans mounted, the verbal attacks from the North grew sharp and unrelenting. In 1888, General William T. Sherman warned that in perpetuating violence and intimidation against Freedmen, Southerners were laying the foundations for another war “more cruel than the last.” In that looming race war, Sherman suggested, blacks in the South would be justified in rising up, and, the general added omi-

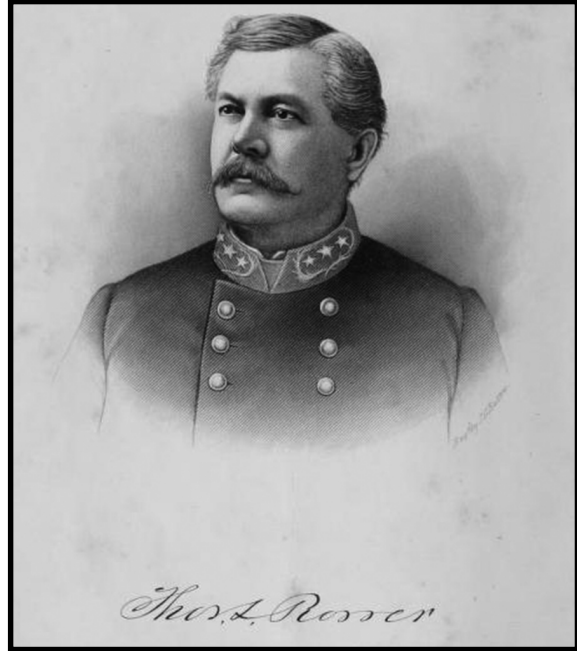


nously, “there will be millions to help them.”⁶ U.S. Senator John J. Ingalls, a Republican from Kansas, famously fanned the flames of sectional discord when on the floor of the U.S. Senate he referred to senate colleagues – senators from the Southern states – as “the jailers and murderers of Andersonville, Belle Isle and Libby prison sitting under the flag which they attempted to pull down, legislating for the country which they endeavored to destroy. . . .”⁷ Certainly the Northern politician most hated by Southern men at the time was Joseph Benson Foraker, governor of Ohio. He was such an adept agitator that he became known as “Fire-Alarm Joe.” After President Grover Cleveland urged governors of Northern states to return to Southern states the Confederate battle flags captured during the war, Foraker flatly refused. He claimed Cleveland (a Democrat) was attempting “a revival of the Southern Confederacy.” While Southerners were busy planning monuments to former Confederate president Jefferson Davis, Foraker told a crowd, “This man, Jeff. Davis, represents only human slavery, the degradation of labor, the treason of secession and rebellion, the horrors and infamies of Libby and Andersonville.”⁸ Just before election day in 1885, Richard Mauzy editor and proprietor of the *Staunton Spectator* attempted to motivate his readers to support the Democratic candidates by filling the second page of his paper with anti-Republican news and opinion, and Foraker’s name appears on the page thirty-two times.⁹ Southern editors used Foraker’s speeches to persuade readers of the Republicans’ malignancy. In one famous passage, Foraker referred to notorious incidents of violence in the South:

But these colored Republicans were not allowed so to vote. On the contrary, by fraud, by violence, by murder, by assassination, by bull-whips and shot-guns, the white leaguers and kuklux clans, by agencies of the most unscrupulous and diabolical character, by horrible barbarities, such as were practiced at Coushatta and Hamburg, in the murder of the Chisholms, in the massacre at Danville, and in the assassination of Print Matthews in Copiah county. Miss., a system of terror was inaugurated and practiced for the last ten years preceding the election, by reason of which at the last election the colored Republicans of the South were wholly deprived of all practical benefit of their right of suffrage. . . .”¹⁰

Not surprisingly, Foraker’s critics aptly named him “captain of the Bloody-Shirt Platoon”¹¹

A flattering engraving of General Rosser in Confederate uniform served as the frontispiece of the 1889 publication of his anti-Northern speeches. (From Addresses of General T.L. Rosser)



There were among Southern Democrats, however, men who were able to muster all the same venomous rhetoric as the Bloody Shirt wavers and to fire it back at them with all the same acrimony. One of these was Thomas Lafayette Rosser. A Virginian by birth, Rosser spent his teens in Texas, and from an early age he had displayed an eagerness to fight. As a cadet at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, Rosser's bellicosity brought him a court martial, many demerits and a low class standing. In April 1861, he stayed true to his Southern principles and resigned two weeks before he would have been graduated. He rose quickly in the Confederate Army and gained a reputation for fearlessness. Generals Robert E. Lee and J.E.B. Stuart considered Rosser's fighting spirit and leadership abilities to be assets, and before the end of the war Rosser had been promoted to major general. He had emerged from the war a pauper, like countless others in the South, and went west to build his future by building railroads. As he later told the story, he began as a laborer, but his education and leadership attributes soon earned him the position of chief engineer for the Northern Pacific Railroad. He would later fill the same position for the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Because Rosser was involved in selecting the routes of the railroads he was able to use privi-



leged information to purchase land at low prices and resell it at a much higher prices after the route of the railroad became general knowledge. Rosser also acquired valuable property in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he had worked before relocating to a home near of Charlottesville, Virginia, so his son could attend the university there. By the early 1880s, Rosser was a wealthy man.

Rosser was well known in Augusta County. During the war, Rosser's brigade had spent the quiet winter months encamped at Swoope. In October 1864, with Confederate fortunes in the Valley tumbling after major defeats, Rosser had arrived at Staunton and with characteristic swagger announced that he was going to run over the Yankee invaders. Someone, perhaps Rosser himself, dubbed him "the Savior of the Valley." The dominant Federals whipped Rosser, too. After taking up residence in Charlottesville after his railroading exploits, Rosser renewed his acquaintances in Staunton and accepted a position on the Board of Directors of the Western Lunatic Asylum. In 1886, he delivered an address in Staunton at the Augusta Agricultural Fair and two years later, he offered a few dignified and solemn words at the dedication of the Confederate Soldier's monument in Thornrose Cemetery. His gentle remarks that day were filled with the buttery oratorical flourishes of the age, and undoubtedly made a favorable impression upon his listeners.¹²

But despite his ability to turn a pleasing phrase, Rosser was not a gentle and buttery man. He remained passionate and aggressive throughout his life and never wavered in his determination to defend his iron-clad principles. While in the grip of his emotions, Rosser sometimes stooped to physical violence and more often transgressed the bounds of decorum and resorted to what was considered, in the genteel vernacular of the day, "intemperate language." The inflammatory rhetoric of the "Bloody Shirt Platoon" provoked Rosser as a red flag before a bull. In February 1889, Rosser was the featured speaker at a large Confederate reunion in Baltimore. U.S. Congressmen, former governors and prominent businessmen, all of them movers and shakers in Southern states, assembled to see and hear him. After declaring that he was tired of "insincere reunions and 'blue and gray' love feasts" at which Southern and Northern soldiers paid lip service to reconciliation, Rosser vehemently denounced the North, at length, for its "malicious sectional hatred, and a morbid, irratio-



nal, puritanical, fanaticism, which cemented them in a holy union for an unholy and unchristian crusade against us.”¹³ Newspapers across the country condemned Rosser for his vitriol, and members of the group that had sponsored the speech disclaimed any responsibility for the content.¹⁴ Rosser made no apologies.

In early 1889, Rosser was fifty-two years old. With his financial present and future seemingly stable, he had begun to look for other fields of conquest, including politics. To an extent, Rosser was well suited to success in politics. He was a self-made man and had accumulated significant wealth. He was still handsome and possessed a presence and charisma that instantly gave others the impression that he was a leader of men. He was articulate and could write and speak well. He was well connected with other powerful men throughout the South, who, like, him, had been Confederate officers. Like other men testing the political waters, Rosser sought opportunities to put himself and his ideas before the public.¹⁵ Rosser’s verbal pyrotechnics at Baltimore attracted the attention of the leaders of the Augusta Memorial Association, who needed a speaker for their Memorial Day ceremonies in June. Most or all of the directors of the Augusta Memorial Association were Confederate veterans. They had no sympathy for the Bloody Shirt wavers, and they knew Rosser and his reputation. In the words of John N. Opie, an officer of the AMA, they wanted a speaker with “the courage, independence and manliness” to defend the South against attacks from the North. They believed Rosser was that man, and they were not mistaken.¹⁶

On Memorial Day, June 8, 1889, citizens congregated in downtown Staunton and processed to the cemetery. After the invocation and an introduction, Rosser rose to speak. He began on a gentle note, speaking of “muffled drums” and “this peaceful and beautiful bivouac of the dead.” He spoke of parents and elders teaching patriotism and morality and exhorting “the young man to live in the service of his country, his God and truth.” He suggested that they had come together not for partisan political purposes or to dwell on earthly matters, but “to honor our fallen fellow-patriots”; to reaffirm their “sacred purpose to love and honor the fallen and thus draw closer to God.”¹⁷

Rosser then delivered to his listeners the consolation and affirmation that the ceremonies of the day required. Referring to the war



of the 1860s, he said, "When I view the influences which actuated the parties to this strife, I feel, indeed I know, that so far as the South was concerned, its people were moved only by the highest impulses of patriotism and honor, and which carried with them the additional stimulation and moral obligation of self-defence." To that point, Rosser's address had been admirable. He had set an elevated tone and created an atmosphere of peace and respect. But at that point, Rosser the silver-tongued spinner of mellifluous phrases seems to step aside, and Rosser the hell-for-leather former Confederate cavalry commander seems to have figuratively come to the fore and drawn his sword. He



Rosser possessed substantial wealth and lofty political aspirations when he sat for a portrait in 1887. (Rosser Family Papers, University of Virginia)

abandoned the poetry and the gilded prose and the lofty references to heaven and went on the attack. "On the other hand," Rosser continued, "it seems to me equally certain that our adversaries were actuated only by incentives of a material nature, vulgarly known as a desire for pelf, plunder and pay – bounty then, pensions now."

It soon became clear that Rosser's plan for the day was to extoll the virtues of the people around him – living and dead – while contrasting them with the debased morality and motives of the Northerners. The Republican Party, he said, exploited the unthinking masses of the North, where demagogues were able "to control and lead them blindly into error, making them, instead of a power for good, mere tools for the performance of destructive and evil work." He warned of the evils of "Anarchism" and "Socialism" and spoke of treason and government coercion and prophesied that "The consequence will be empire and tyranny." The struggle of their own time, he said, was that of the "individual man" against "corporate power sustained by the government."

As he warmed to his subject, Rosser's sentences became longer,



and then longer still, some exceeding one hundred words. His logic seems at times to have been overcome by his passion, but the wrath he vented upon the enemies of his people remained sharp and clear. The Yankees had been “conscripts,” and “substitutes,” “hirelings and bounty jumpers.” Rosser had no decent sentiment to offer for anyone who had worn the blue. “The monuments which we raise to patriotic virtue,” Rosser assured his listeners, “are the offerings of patriotic love and, like our prayers, they go up to Heaven in pure childlike faith and bounty, and without hypocrisy.” The Yankees, on the other hand, erected monuments to heroes “in city circles or in aspiring parks as a speculation in real estate. . . . The heroes astride the brazen steeds in the centre of the beautiful circles of Washington, will by future generations be regarded as cruel monsters, who, under a delirium of sectional hatred, strove to reconcile what they regarded as discrepancies in God’s economy, and defied the purpose of Divine wisdom by undertaking to place a lower above a higher race. But alas! in this futile attempt they succeeded only in pulling down the higher instead of elevating the lower.”

As to the wavers of the Bloody Shirt, Rosser mentioned Foraker, Sherman, Ingalls and others by name, and dismissed them as “rubbish” that would be cast aside by decent men of future generations while Robert E. Lee and Jackson, Stuart and other martyrs to constitutional liberty would be honored throughout the civilized world.

When Rosser was finished, the ceremonies moved on toward their close, as members of the Staunton Artillery fired a salute to the dead and mourners came forth to decorate the graves with flowers. Only two local reactions to Rosser’s remarks have come to light: A report in the *Spectator* states that Rosser was frequently interrupted by applause. The newspaper reporter also offered the unsubstantiated and unverifiable opinion that “. . . the people repaired to their homes, feeling that they had enjoyed an intellectual treat in hearing Gen. Rosser’s address, and the consolation of having performed a sacred duty.” The second local reaction, again reported in the *Spectator*, came from the Augusta Memorial Association itself, which tendered a vote of thanks to Gen. Rosser for his address.¹⁸

Beyond Staunton, the reaction was immediate and unambiguous. A reporter in the audience had transcribed passages of the speech and sent out a dispatch by telegraph. Rosser’s speech made front



TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER.

"I have heard the doctrine advocated that the sentence as our installation service, 'That we should stand by the soldier though the whole world assail him,' means that we should do so if our Comrade is a candidate for a political office."

"The Grand Army fetters the conscience of no man. It gives the largest liberty to all. It stands aloof from the strife and clash of parties. 'It will stand by the Comrade though the world assail him,' in sickness, in distress, when the old wounds reopen, when the wife and children are desolate. It will take old veterans from the almshouse. It will remove their dust and bones from a pauper's grave and bury them in holy ground. It will procure employment, it will lighten up the desolate home with the glowing illustration of charity; but in all political and religious affairs we will hold our independence of thought and our conscience as something we will not surrender to any order."

Hundreds of soldiers' and sailors' monuments have been erected. Orphans' Homes have been built and endowed in many States; soldiers buried in pauper graves have been re-interred, and no old soldier or widow or orphan need suffer for the

necessaries of life if they will make their wants known to the Grand Army. In proportion to the means of the Order they have done more for the starving soldiers and sailors than the Government they saved by their valor. The motto of the Order is "Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty."

The badge of the Grand Army consists of an eagle and a star, connected by a ribbon representing the flag. The metal of the badge is from captured cannon. None but honorable discharged soldiers can become members of the Order.

Under the auspices of the Order thousands of camp-fires, Grand Army fairs, reunions and banquets are held. These revive the suffering and sacrifices, and recall the unwritten history, of the War. At these meetings the old songs of the War are sung again as they were in the olden days; each member is a Comrade; no rank is recognized save that conferred by the Order, and every member is eligible for any position in its gift. Each

Department and the National Encampment have a countersign. The secret work is prepared by the National Encampment, and consists of a beautiful ceremony, with sufficient signs and work to enable members to recognize each other.

Eleven hundred and eighty-eight members of the Order died from July, 1882, to June 30th, 1883. Eighteen hundred and ninety-seven from June, 1883, to June, 1884.

When the last member dies the Order will cease to exist. It contains to-day more than one-fourth of the survivors of the war.

Memorial Day was first instituted by Comrade John A. Logan, and on the 30th of May each year has been proudly observed. It has become a national holiday, and means to perpetuate, by floral offerings, and orations commemorative of the dead, the memory of those only who wore the Union blue, and fought in defense of the flag of our common country.

Frank Leslie's *The Soldier in Our Civil War*, published in multiple editions between 1890 and 1893, was intended for both Northern and Southern audiences. The inclusion of this illustration in the popular volume suggests the importance that veterans and their families placed on instructing the next generation to revere the sacrifices and the principles of the war generation. (From *The Soldier in Our Civil War*)



page news the next day not only in Richmond, but in Indianapolis. The anonymous reporter who filed the dispatch described the speech as “characteristic” of Rosser and “bitter” in its tone. In Indiana and elsewhere, Rosser was denounced as a “Rampant Rebel.” A paper in the nation’s capital declared, “Another Confederate General Indulges in Foolish Talk.”¹⁹ In the northwestern states of Minnesota and North Dakota, where Rosser had made his fortune, editors minced no words. “General T.L. Rosser,” declared the *Bismarck Tribune*, “succeeds much better in making a very loud-mouthed ass of himself every time he talks to Southern people than he did as a soldier for the cause he now sustains with his foul mouth.”²⁰ In Minneapolis, where Rosser had lived among former Union soldiers as, they thought, a friend, the reaction was stronger. One writer thought him an ungrateful, hypocritical “snarling cur.” An editor in St. Paul wrote ruefully, “Gen. Rosser seems to have a decided Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde talent. When he lived in Minneapolis he was never accustomed to hiss his hatred of the North through his teeth.”²¹ A Republican organ aimed at an African-American readership, *The Washington Bee*, answered Rosser with the same rough, ruthless rhetoric he had dispensed in Thornrose:

If Jeff Davis and Genl. Rosser had been hung immediately after the war of the rebellion as they should have been, and ought now to be, the southern ex-confederates would, perhaps, be better prepared to abide by the results of the war. But with Davis passing as a Demi-God and martyr and Rosser ranting and raving about the bravery and heroism of the traitors who attempted to destroy the union it is quite enough to exasperate intelligent men who wore the blue, and who know that these living arch traitors owe their lives and the liberty they now enjoy to the magnanimity of the Federal Government. The [Belligerent]²² Rosser, we imagine is more handy with his mouth than with firearms, now or at any previous time of his life. If union ex-soldiers are to be slayed with the jaw-bone of an ass, we warn them to look out for the redoubtable and harmless Rosser. Jeff Davis, Genl. Rosser and all who think as they think, should be buried close to Benedict Arnold or Judas Iscariot.²³

In Virginia, some observers recognized that Rosser’s explosive rhetoric was not always appropriate and thought that he was “too rash in his utterances.”²⁴ But those who worried about Rosser’s lack of restraint did not necessarily disagree with him in principle. The *Warrenton Index* in Fauquier County admitted that Rosser had been



“denunciatory,” but, in a veiled reference to the Bloody Shirt wavers, he declared “to some extent he is justifiable because of great provocation.” Recognizing that Memorial Day was a time fraught with tension between the defenders of differing ideologies, the editor in Warrenton wrote:

We have never thought it wise to place ropes around our necks upon every memorial day, bow ourselves before our enemies, and thank them if they should not hang us, or feel especially pleased if they do not spurn us. We should claim our rights, and in all things act the part of manly men, if we would prove worthy of our noble dead.²⁵

For his part, Rosser apparently was content with his performance. He had gratified his combative impulses by transforming the high hill in Thornrose into Mt. Vituperation and was pleased enough with the result that he had the text of his speech set in type and printed in pamphlet form along with the text of his combustible Baltimore speech. He disseminated the booklet to newspapers across Virginia as a personal campaign platform.

From a distance of almost thirteen decades and across the divides of perspectives and cultures that separate us from our long-gone fellow citizens of Augusta, it remains understandable that any group of people who sacrifices much would like to believe that such sacrifices are not meaningless and that the principles underlying the sacrifices are in some way justifiable. Such is human nature. It is possible, then, to see that Rosser’s speech, full of anger and spite and indecency as it was, perhaps gave some solace to the people who heard it. Less easy to see is what greater good Rosser’s abusive tone and belligerent manner accomplished that day. He did not raise the level of public discourse, nor offer a solution to the nation’s problems nor even provide a sterling example of how to graciously honor a cause, a people or an occasion. His speech does, however, reveal something of the state of the nation and of the demagoguery that contributed to the chasm between the Northern and Southern people almost a quarter of a century after the war is believed to have “ended.” The editor of West Virginia’s *Kanawha Gazette* certainly expressed a regrettable truth for that generation when he wrote, “Issues can be settled by the sword, but the principles involved live on forever.”²⁶



Endnotes

¹*Staunton Spectator*, June 19, 1866, p. 3, col. 2; September 20, 1870, p. 2, col. 2; November 1, 1870, p. 1, col. 5; May 30, 1871, p. 3, col. 2; The association set June 9 as the day on which it would annually observe Memorial Day. The date was chosen to commemorate the anniversary of the Battle of Port Republic in 1862, “where ‘Stonewall’ Jackson, won his early laurels, and drove back the invading hosts from the borders of Augusta.” Estimates of the number of Confederate dead in Thornrose ranged to more than 2,000 by 1889, many of them buried in private lots.

²Sheehan-Dean, A. *Virginia Soldiers (Confederate) During the Civil War*. (2011, April 12). In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Retrieved from http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Virginia_Soldiers_Confederate_During_the_Civil_War; Kenzer, R. *Civil War Widows*. (2012, December 4). In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Retrieved from http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Civil_War_Widows.

³*Staunton Spectator*, June 19, 1889, p. 3.

⁴Avery, I. W. “The United Confederate Veterans,” *The Soldier in Our Civil War* (New York: Stanley Bradley Publishing Co., 1893). unpaginated. See <https://archive.org/details/soldierinourcivi01les>

⁵Stephen Budiansky, *The Bloody Shirt, Terror after Appomattox*, (New York: Viking, 2008), 3-4.

⁶“Old Shady,” with a Moral. *North American Review*, October, 1888, pp. 361-68, excerpted in “‘Old Shady’s’ Moral,” the *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1888, p. 6, col. 1.

⁷*Western Kansas World*, March 17, 1888, p. 4, col. 4.

⁸Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), 349-50; Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker, An Uncompromising Republican*. (Columbus: Ohio History Press, 1948), 43.

⁹*Staunton Spectator*, October 28, 1885.

¹⁰“Vote Down Sectionalism” *Richmond Dispatch*, October 24, 1885, page 2; Foraker referred to events in Coushatta and New Orleans, Louisiana in 1874 and in Hamburg, South Carolina, in July 1876.

¹¹“The Bloody-Shirt Platoon” *Richmond Dispatch*, October 24, 1885, page 2. The article is credited to the *New York World*.

¹²*Staunton Spectator*, September 26, 1888, p. 3.

¹³Thomas L. Rosser, *Addresses of General T.L. Rosser at the Seventh Annual Reunion of the Association of the Maryland Line, Academy of Music, Baltimore, MD. February 22, 1889 and on Memorial Day, Staunton, Va., June 8, 1889* (New York: The L.A. Williams Printing Co, 1889), 24.

¹⁴*Alexandria Gazette*, February 25, 1889, p. 2, col. 3

¹⁵For evidence of Rosser’s interest in obtaining office, see William G. Thomas, III, “‘Under Indictment’: Thomas Lafayette Rosser and the New South,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (Apr., 1992), 211-12 and *Alexandria Gazette*, August 15, 1889, page 2, col. 2; *Alexandria Gazette*, August 16, 1889, page 2, col. 3.

¹⁶*Staunton Spectator*, June 12, 1889, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁷All of the following quotations from Rosser’s speech can be found in the text printed in the *Staunton Spectator* of June 12, 1889. The text of Rosser’s speech can most easily be read in the version published by Archive.org: *Addresses of Gen’l T. L. Rosser at the seventh annual reunion of the Association of the Maryland Line. Baltimore, Md., February 22, 1889, and on Memorial Day, Staunton, Va., June 8, 1889*. <https://archive.org/details/addressesofgent00ross>

¹⁸*Staunton Spectator*, June 12, 1889, p. 3, col. 4 and col. 1.

¹⁹*The Daily Times* (Richmond), June 9, 1889, p. 1, col. 4; *The Indianapolis Journal*, June 9, 1889, p. 1, col. 1; *The Evening Star* (Washington, DC), June 11, 1889, p. 6, col. 3.

²⁰*Bismarck (ND) Weekly Tribune*, June 14, 1889, p. 4, col. 3.

²¹Unidentified newspaper clipping, probably from the *Minneapolis Evening Star*, in Elizabeth W. Rosser Scrapbook 1877-1902, p. 92, Special Collections, University of Virginia, Acc. 1171-a, box 2; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, June 14, 1889, p. 3, col. 1

²²The original reads “Velligesent”

²³*The Washington Bee*, June 15, 1889. p. 2, col. 2.

²⁴*The Evening Star* (Washington, DC), August 16, 1889, p. 6, col. 3.

²⁵Quoted in the *Staunton Spectator*, June 19, 1889, p. 3, col. 6.

²⁶Editorial attributed to *Kanawha Gazette* (WV) printed in *Staunton Spectator*, June 19, 1889, p. 3, col. 6.



Why did General Lee accept the presidency of nearly bankrupt Washington College in 1865?

By Daniel A. Métraux

Editor's note: Enjoy these insights from Bulletin Associate Editor Daniel Métraux.

When Confederate General Robert E. Lee (1807-1870) surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to Union General Ulysses S. Grant in April 1865, Lee, like many of his compatriots, faced both financial ruin and major questions over how he should proceed with the rest of his life. Lee at times dreamed of retiring to a quiet rural locale where he could reside peacefully with his family, but he also wished to find a way to support his family and to contribute somehow to the rebuilding of both his native Virginia and of the South as a whole. The answer came in August 1865 with an invitation from Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, to accept the presidency of the badly destroyed and virtually bankrupt institution. The college saw the presence of Lee on its campus as a potential major draw for more students and outside funding. At the same time, Lee saw an opportunity to help create an environment to educate young men who could rebuild the South while at the same time providing a means to support his family.¹

The question facing Lee was what to do with the rest of his life. At age fifty-eight, he still felt energetic although he had experienced some coronary problems in earlier years. Lee had received several interesting offers including a mansion and estate in England,² the figurehead presidency of a major insurance company,³ the vice-chancellorship of the "University of the South" at Sewanee, Tennessee, and feelers for some academic or administrative positions at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.⁴ Lee declined the Sewanee offer because it was too denominational, the possibility of work at the University of Virginia because it was a state institution⁵ and did not even consider the position at the insurance company.



General Lee, however, surprised many people when he accepted an offer in late summer 1865 to become president of nearly bankrupt Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. His son, Col. Robert E Lee, Jr., later wrote:

Washington College had started as an academy in 1749. It was the first classical school opened in the Valley of Virginia. After a struggle of many years, under a succession of principals and with several changes of site, it at last acquired such a reputation as to attract the attention of General Washington. He gave it a handsome endowment and the institution changed its name from "Liberty Hall Academy" to Washington College. In the summer of 1865, the college, through the calamities of civil war, had reached the lowest point of depression it had ever known. Its buildings, library, and apparatus had suffered from the sack and plunder of hostile soldiery. Its invested funds, owing to the general impoverishment throughout the land, were for the time being rendered unproductive and their ultimate value was most uncertain. Four professors remained on duty, and there were about forty students.

It was not a State institution, nor confined to any one religious denomination, so two objections which might have been made by my father were removed. But the college in later years had only a local reputation. It was very poor, indifferently equipped with buildings, and with no means in sight to improve its condition.⁶

The situation in Lexington and at Washington College was made even more desperate by the fact that the region had suffered one of the coldest winters on record in the winter of 1864-1865 including subzero temperatures in January and an abundance of snow in February.

The process that led to Lee's appointment actually began in Staunton, Virginia. Lee's daughter Mary Custis Lee was attending a party in Staunton when a trustee of Washington College, Col. Bolivar Christian, heard her say, "The people of the South are offering my father everything but work; and work is the only thing that he will accept at their hands." Christian raced back to Lexington where he confided what he had heard to other college administrators who quickly determined to take the extraordinary step of offering Lee the presidency of their institution.⁷

The trustees and tiny faculty of Washington College met on August 4, 1865, in Lexington to discuss the future of the college. They were desperate because the college was quite literally in a state of collapse. What they needed most was a strong and dynamic new president whose vision, skill, and charisma would both increase student enrollment and raise sufficient funds to keep the college alive. After several names had



been placed in nomination, Col. Christian mentioned what he had heard from Mary Custis Lee in Staunton, but when he was asked if he were nominating Lee, he replied in the negative – he was just telling the assembled what he had heard and nothing more. There were still several other names before those gathered that they might invite to be president, but several of those present jumped on the idea of at least inviting Lee. A wave of enthusiasm overtook the crowd and Col. Christian duly made the nomination on behalf of Lee. The other nominations were withdrawn and the roll was called with Lee the unanimous victor.⁸

Washington College Professor of Mathematics Alexander L. Nelson, who was present at this conclave, later wrote

Then there was a pause, and silence prevailed for some moments. The board seemed oppressed with the gravity of the situation, and seemed to feel that they had acted rashly. How could they announce to the world that they had elected to the presidency to a broken-down college not only the greatest man in the South, but in many respects the greatest man in the world? And yet it was only brave men who could seize an opportunity like this. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at its flood, leads on to fortune."⁹

The salary offered to Lee was quite generous for the time: \$1,500 per annum plus a house and garden and one-fifth of the tuition fees of the students that were raised to a hundred dollars. In a few years Lee's total salary would balloon to over \$4,000, but this was much less than the \$10,000 salary that the insurance company had offered him.¹⁰ The probable expectation was that Lee's presidency would be a public relations bonanza to the college. His name hopefully would attract many more students as well as gifts from private, public, and institutional donors. They all knew, however, that money for Lee's salary was not at hand and that Lee and the trustees would be hard pressed to raise this sum. The college was perilously in debt and the faculty had not been paid in years.¹¹

It was quite a desperate gamble by a desperate college. There was the general expectation in Lexington that Lee would not take the job – that coming to a little known, almost bankrupt school located in the Valley of Virginia would certainly not be of interest to a man with the stature of Lee, but that there was no harm in at least talking to Lee to see if he were at all interested in the job. Washington College Professor E.S. Joyness wrote:



There was a general expectation that he [General Lee] would decline the position as not sufficiently lucrative, if his purpose was to repair the ruins of his private fortune resulting from the war; as not lifting him conspicuously enough in the public gaze, if he was ambitious of office or further distinction; or as involving too great labour and anxiety, if he coveted repose after the terrible context from which he had just emerged.¹²

Nevertheless, the administrators of Washington College were so desperate that they determined to make every attempt to lure Lee. They voted to appoint Lee and sent local Judge John Brockenbrough¹³ to visit with Lee at his borrowed abode in Powhatan County. The trustees hastily gathered enough money to pay for the judge's trip and lent him the one decent suit that they could find so that he could appear before Lee with a semblance of dignity and respectability.¹⁴

Lee was quite surprised by the offer and definitely intrigued, but he showed initial reluctance to accept. He doubted his own qualifications to lead an institution of higher education although he had served admirably as Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point from 1852 to 1855. Lee greatly feared that taking the job would force him to become a college professor as well. Lee told the Washington College board that he would only consider the job if he was excused from the classroom. He had been involved in some instruction while a teaching assistant when a student at West Point, but he had never enjoyed being in the classroom. He wrote in his reply that "The proper education of youth requires not only great ability, but fear more strength than I now possess, for I do not feel able to undergo the labor of conducting classes in regular courses of instruction."¹⁵

Lee also reminded the trustees that his political position was precarious. He had been indicted on charges of treason by a federal grand jury in Norfolk that summer. Although General Grant had interceded on Lee's behalf by writing a letter to President Andrew Johnson reminding him that Lee and his officers had been granted a parole at Appomattox, the indictment remained in effect until 1869 although Lee was never tried. Lee wrote that because of the existing indictment,

I have thought it probable that my occupation of the position of president might draw upon the college a feeling of hostility; and I should, therefore, cause injury to an institution which it would be my highest desire to advance. I think it the duty of every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in



the restoration of peace and harmony, and in no way to oppose the policy of the State or general government directed to that object. It is particularly incumbent on those charged with the instruction of the young to set them an example of submission to authority, and I could not consent to be the cause of animadversion upon the college.¹⁶

We get a sense of what was going on in Lee's mind before he decided to accept the presidency of Washington College from a speech that Joseph P.B. Wilmer (1812-1878), Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana, gave to honor General Lee at University Place, Sewanee, Tennessee after his death. Bishop Wilmer, who spent much of his life in Virginia before moving to Louisiana in 1866, knew Lee. Lee came to Wilmer's residence in August of 1865, to discuss the job offer. Wilmer recalled:

I was seated at the close of day in my Virginia home, when I beheld through the thickening shades of evening a horseman entering the yard, whom I soon recognized as General Lee. The next morning he placed in my hands the correspondence with the authorities of Washington College, at Lexington. He had been invited to become president of that institution. I confess to a momentary feeling of chagrin at the proposed change—shall I say, revulsion?—in his history. The institution was one of local interest and comparatively unknown to our people. I named others more conspicuous, which would welcome him with ardor as their presiding head. I soon discovered that his mind towered above these earthly distinctions; that in his judgment the cause gave dignity to the institution, and not the wealth of its endowment, or the renown of its scholars; that this door and not another was opened to him by Providence, and he only wished to be assured of his competency to fulfill the trust, and thus to make his few remaining years a comfort and blessing to his suffering country. I had spoken to his human feelings; he had now revealed himself to me as one 'whose life was hid with Christ in God.'¹⁷

General Lee's son, Captain Robert E. Lee, Jr., further remarked:

My father had had four years' experience in the charge of young men at West Point. The conditions at that place, to be sure, were very different from those at the one to which he was now going, but the work in the main was the same – to train, improve and elevate. I think he was influenced, in making up his mind to accept this position, by the great need of education in his State and in the South, and by the opportunity that he saw at Washington College for starting almost from the beginning, and for helping, by his experience and example, the youth of his country to become good and useful citizens.¹⁸

Lee in due course accepted the job offer and the college officially announced that Lee had accepted the position on August 24, 1865.¹⁹ On September 15, 1865, Lee mounted his famous steed Traveller and began a four-day trek to Lexington. Lee's most famous biographer,



Douglas Southall Freeman describes Lee's trip as follows:

He rode slowly, for the way was long and the weather was hot. Early in the afternoon he stopped at the house of a friend and remained there overnight. The next day, the temperature still oppressive, he kept the same schedule. On the third afternoon, he reached the crest of the Blue Ridge, beyond which lay his future home.²⁰ As he looked into the Valley, he was thinking of Jackson and of Thorough Gap, of Sharpsburg, and of Harpers Ferry...or of the college up among the hills, and of a peaceful union of all the states that religion and education would insure against a renewal of war. None can answer, but as he had put all of his self-discipline into a determination to close his mind to the irrevocable past, is it not possible that his thought was of the future?²¹

Lee was greeted as a hero upon his arrival in Lexington on 18 September and immediately set to work. Lee knew full well that his chief function was to lend his famous name to the prestige of the school rather than to be a day-to-day administrator, but to the surprise of everybody at the college, he very quickly immersed himself in the detailed administration of the college. Within weeks he had proposed a modernized curriculum, established an honor system, and installed a number of management policies that mirrored those of West Point. He worked hard to get to know both the standing and character of every student and he raised the academic standing of the college by obliging the faculty to teach rigorous courses and in giving tough examinations which Lee himself participated in. He also saw to the reconstruction and modernization of the campus after the terrible destruction of the war.²²

Educational reform was key to Lee's presidency from the start. The late Elizabeth Pryor, author of *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters*, writes that Lee,

Feeling that the old classical studies still had merit, that science and more practical branches of knowledge were best suited to changing conditions, he grafted modern languages, chemistry, advanced mathematics, natural history, and mining engineering onto the curriculum.²³

Lee greatly increased the number of professorships and attached Judge Brockenbrough's private law academy to the college, in effect creating what is now the highly regarded law school at Washington & Lee University.

Washington College's enrollment and financial position improved under Lee's energetic guidance. By the time that Lee died in 1870, enrollment had increased to 410 students from twenty-two states and



enough money came in to begin paying off the college's debts and to offer scholarships to those students with lesser means.²⁴

Lee's very successful five-year presidency came as a result of the confluence of two great needs: Washington College's pressing desire for a strong and famous leader to save the institution from certain ruin and Lee's wish to be a positive force in the reconstruction of Virginia and the South. Lee correctly saw that the future prosperity of the South lay in the education of its young men and he believed that his greatest contribution to this process was creating a strong foundation for the education of these men. As noted, Lee had been offered a huge salary to be the figurehead leader of an insurance company, but he chose a far less paying job in education. And rather than being just a figurehead president of Washington College, he plunged in head first to radically modernize and to make the curriculum more relevant for his students.

Lee was an activist president constantly on the move. He came with a master plan for the college and had both the charisma and support to begin implementing it immediately. Lee's genius was his ability to see that the traditional eighteenth and nineteenth century view of higher education in the United States, which focused on the classics as well as Latin and Greek, was dangerously outmoded. The real world of rapidly industrializing America required leaders who understood modern science and math, who received formal academic training in the study of law, and who learned to speak, read, and write modern languages like Spanish and French rather than Latin or Greek. The classics were still part of the curriculum, but by the end of 1866 the faculty had grown to include departments of Latin, Greek, Modern Languages, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics, History and Literature, and Law and Engineering.²⁵

Although Lee was a strong supporter of the liberal arts, he also firmly believed in providing students with a "practical education." "The great object of the whole plan is to provide the facilities required by the large class of our young men, who looking forward to an early entrance into the practical pursuits of life, need a more direct training to this end than the usual literary courses." Lee incorporated what became the law school, began a short-lived school of journalism, and proposed adding agricultural and technical training as a way to train men in "useful" fields. Some critics both North and South felt that Lee's innovations were "over-reaching," but Lee saw them as essential if the South



was going to make a full recovery from the damages of war.²⁶ Lee biographer Elizabeth Pryor writes that because of Lee's innovative leadership at Washington College, it "was one of the few southern institutions not under the controls of carpetbaggers during this period. In its way, it was a self-imposed reconstruction, which looked to inner resources and long-term investment for revitalization."²⁷

If the trustees and faculty of Washington College hoped that by inviting General Lee to become their president, the school might rebound in a favorable manner, they were correct. According to *De Dow's Review*, published in early 1867, the student body had grown from forty at the end of the Civil War to 146 students in late 1865 to about 400 by early 1867. The faculty had grown from four members to nine and in 1866 the college received cash gifts totaling \$25,000. A Philadelphia friend of the college donated his own personal library to replace the college's library that had been destroyed near the end of the war.²⁸ Professor C. A. Graves of the University of Virginia, speaking at a centennial ceremony of Lee's birth in 1907 at Charlottesville, noted, "During the five years of General Lee's presidency the number of professors more than trebled; the number of students was quadrupled, and the endowment of the institution was increased many fold. He found it a college, and left it a university, worthy of the proud title which links the names of Washington and Lee."²⁹

The presence of Lee brought in many students who had served in the Confederate army. One alumnus, Robert Ewing, who entered Washington College right after the war, later wrote:

My father had died in Atlanta in 1864, serving the same cause which General Lee had served. His fortune had been swept away at the fall of Nashville, and I had been compelled to work to support myself. By hard work I had saved a little fund that I could not better invest than by going to Lexington and placing myself under General Lee. Though I have since sadly realized that I did not study while there as I should have done, and as the General was solicitous to have all who attended do, I count not as lost the time spent there, for at my impressionable age and with my intense feeling, simply to have met General Lee and to have watched so noble a hero daily performing such high duties, was almost equivalent to the beginning, at least, of acquiring a liberal education.

A majority of the students were young men who had, four years before, entered the Southern army as mere boys. They had served as soldiers under General Lee, and at that time had the spirit of grown men. They needed no spur to endeavor, other than their reverence for General Lee and their own determination to seize upon the only



opportunity existing to prepare themselves for useful lives. That they worked to a purpose, their after careers in life, some of which I have kept up with pretty closely, clearly demonstrated; in fact, the spirit of all was admirable.³⁰

Today General Lee remains very much a part of life at Washington and Lee University. He and his wife and several other family members are buried beneath the chapel he had constructed early in his tenure at the college. His steed Traveller is buried near the chapel. The Lee Chapel Museum offers a lot of information about his life and allows one to see his office pretty much as it looked when he last left it in 1870. General Lee is respected and honored in death as much if not more than during his life. Many faculty acknowledge today that their highly respected university would not be where it is today had it not been for the transformational leadership of Robert E. Lee.

There is much written about Lee as a military genius and hero and every biography of Lee devotes up to three-quarters of its space to Lee's battles during the Civil War. But I would contend that Lee's career as a leader in higher education also deserves a lengthy study, but at present, popular biographical writing on Lee really ignores his life after Appomattox.

Endnotes

¹Roy Blount, Jr., *Robert E. Lee: A Life* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 151.

²Captain Robert E. Lee, *Robert E. Lee: Recollections and Letters* (Secaucus, N.J.: The Blue Gray Press, 1988), 170. Lee respectfully declined this offer. "I am deeply grateful; I cannot desert my native State in the hour of her adversity. I must abide her fortunes, and share her fate.

³Blount, 151.

⁴Lee, 179.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 180.

⁷Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters* (New York: Viking, 2007), 436.

⁸Prof. Alexander L. Nelson, "How Lee Became a College President" in Franklin L. Riley, Ed., *General Robert E. Lee After Appomattox* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1922), 1-2. Nelson's composed his manuscript in 1907.

⁹Ibid., 2.

¹⁰Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 520-525. Abridged version of the original.

In the second year of his tenure, Lee received a one percent raise and his twenty percent cut of every student's seventy-five dollars tuition brought his compensation to \$4,756, a good upper-middle class salary of that day. Source: Blount, 154.

¹¹Pryor, 436.

¹²Quoted in Lee, 180.

¹³Judge Brockenbrough was rector of Washington College and teacher of law at a private school in Lexington. He had also been federal judge of the western district of Virginia. Freeman, 520.

¹⁴Pryor, 436. According to Nelson, op. cit., none of the trustees or faculty had money to pay for the trip, but one of the trustees, a Col. McLaughlin, had heard that there was a woman living in Lexington who owned a farm in Buckingham County who had recently received



some money for a crop of tobacco. Those assembled voted to ask her for a loan to pay travel expenses and the woman complied. Another board member, Hugh Barclay, like the judge a very large man, reported that his son who lived in the North had sent him a suit of broadcloth that would fit Justice Brockenbrough pretty well. Brockenbrough accepted the loan of the suit with alacrity. Riley, 3-4.

¹⁵Lee, 181

¹⁶Ibid. It is important to note that Lee submitted an application for reinstatement of his citizenship to the U.S. government, but that the petition was never acted on. Lee sent an application to General Grant and wrote to President Johnson on June 13, 1865:

Being excluded from the provisions of amnesty & pardon contained in the proclamation of the 29th Ultio; I hereby apply for the benefits, & full restoration of all rights & privileges extended to those included in its terms. I graduated at the Mil. Academy at West Point in June 1829. Resigned from the U.S. Army April '61. Was a General in the Confederate Army, & included in the surrender of the Army of N. Va. 9 April '65.

On October 2, 1865, the same day that Lee was inaugurated as president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, he signed his Amnesty Oath, thereby complying fully with the provision of Johnson's proclamation. But Lee was not pardoned, nor was his citizenship restored. And the fact that he had submitted an amnesty oath at all was soon lost to history. An archivist at the National Archives found Lee's Amnesty Oath in 1970 in a collection of State Department records. It seems that then Secretary of State William H. Seward had given Lee's application to a friend as a souvenir, and that in due course the State Department had pigeonholed the oath.

In 1975, Lee's full rights of citizenship were posthumously restored by a joint congressional resolution effective June 13, 1865. President Gerald Ford signed the resolution at a special ceremony on August 5, 1975. Source: "General Robert E. Lee's Parole and Citizenship" in *Prologue Magazine*, Spring 2005 (37.1), 1.

¹⁷"Address of Bishop Joseph P.B. Wilmer of Louisiana on the demise of General Robert E. Lee, delivered at University place, Sewanee, Tennessee, October, 1870." <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0271%3Achapter%3D16> (Accessed 16 February 2015)

¹⁸Lee., 183.

¹⁹Riley, 4.

²⁰General Robert E. Lee spent the night at the expanded inn, renamed the Mountain Top Inn in Afton and passed through Staunton on his way to Lexington. <http://www.virginialiving.com/virginiana/history/history-of-afton-mountain/> (accessed 15 February 2015)

²¹Quoted in Richard G. Williams, Jr., *Lexington, Virginia and the Civil War* (Charleston S.C.: The History Press, 2013), 135.

²²Pryor, 437.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵The Faculty of Washington College in early 1867: General R. E. Lee, President; Carter J. Harris, Professor of Latin; James J. White, Professor of Greek; Edward S. Joynes, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages and English Philology; Rev. J.A. Lefevre, A.M., Professor of Moral Philosophy; Alexander L. Nelson, Cincinnati Professor of Mathematics; William Allan, A.M. Professor of Applied Math; Richard S. McCulloh, A.M., McCormick Professor Natural Philosophy; John C. Campbell, A.M., Professor of Chemistry; The Hon. John W. Brockenbrough, LL.D., Professor of Law and Equity. Source: *De Dow's Review*, 1867. https://books.google.com/books?id=uhZAAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA429&lpg=PA429&dq=Professor%22Alexander%22L.%20Nelson%22&source=bl&ots=slm_D3EvU&sig=RW7JWVT6OVfqEB9J-tEzvR9G8BQ&hl=en&sa=X&ei=SNjgVOCGB8m5ggSd04KQBQ&ved=0CCYQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Professor%20%22Alexander%20L.%20Nelson%22&f=false (accessed 15 February 2015)

²⁶Pryor, 438.

²⁷Ibid

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹C.A. Graves, "General Lee in Lexington" in Riley, op. cit., 23-24.

³⁰Judge Robert Ewing, "Reflections of a Lee Alumnus" in Riley, op. cit., 54-55.



A Union soldier in Virginia: Commentaries on the latter part of the Civil War from Union Lieutenant William H. Brown to his wife in Massachusetts

Edited by Daniel A. Métraux

Associate Editor's Note: Early in 2015 while rummaging through the papers of the Natick Massachusetts Historical Society near Boston, I came across a cache of letters sent from William [Will] H. Brown to his wife Mollie Brown written between the summer of 1864 and May of 1865. William entered the Union Army as a Second Lieutenant sometime in late 1862 or 1863 and mustered out in May 1865. William Brown, a native of Natick, had a thirty-day leave which allowed him to return home to marry his sweetheart Mollie.

In these letters William Brown reflects not only on his love for Mollie, but also on the course of the war, the weariness of the dying Confederacy, the fatigue he saw in President Lincoln in March 1865, and his horror at the assassination of the President—at which time he demands that Jefferson Davis be tried and executed as well.

Brown fought with the 39th Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry. He may have fought in the northern reaches of the Shenandoah Valley, but finished the war fighting in central Virginia.

Letters to Mollie:

1864: July

Letter to wife Mollie:

Only think, my dearest, it is nearly one year ago since I arrived in Natick, on my first leave from the 39th Reg't. I little thought of getting married when I arrived in town, but that Sunday Eve (one year tomorrow eve) settled the question, the most momentous one that a young man is ever called upon to decide. And I thank God! Today that I decided that eve, as I did.

The past year, darling, has been one of dangers and sickness to me, one of trial and anxiety to you. But if God spares my life to get out of the Army, I hope to make the coming years happier for you. But you may



have to endure our cruel separation a few, and but a few, months longer, that is, if I am spared. Time is passing rapidly; it is nearly six weeks since we parted. But soon it will be August, and then we meet – no more to part this side of the grave.

You will have another sad time and, I guess, you will shed tears on the anniversary of our marriage, because I do not come. I shall think of you, my dear, dear wife, on that evening, and I hope my letter will get to you by the 19th. .. a poor substitute for a husband, yet it is the best I can do. I'd be there, my darling, if I could. And you know that I love you as I did the hour I stood before the Reverend Mr. Atwood, and solemnly promised to love, cherish and protect you, as long as life shall last. Thus far, my sweet Mollie, I have kept my pledge.

Oh, my darling, I do love you very dearly, and I wish at this moment I could clasp you in my arms, and with kisses of love upon your lips, tell you how I adore you, and shall always continue to do so. My dearest little Wife, my love does not grow cold, although we are separated by hundreds of miles, by this cruel War.

At this very moment, the cold air comes rushing through the cracks of our Mud-Log-House...Often, as I lay in my lonely bunk at night, I think of how much better quarters I could have with you. And this afternoon I long for the comfortable lounge in the sitting room, with my darling near me.

But the contrast is too much for me, so I must stop. Mollie dear, keep up good courage, be a good Soldier's Wife, bear yourself as becomes an American woman. And in years hence, when this Rebellion has passed into history, you can perhaps tell your children and grandchildren, of the times of trial and anxiety you experienced during the absence of

Your ever true and devoted husband,
Will H. Brown

P.S. What a picture—Children and Grandchildren! Ha! Ha!

Late 1864 or Early 1865: Will Brown encloses a letter to Mollie from a fellow soldier and friend, Charles H. Barnes of Massachusetts Company I about Barnes' awful time as a prisoner of war in Andersonville. Barnes writes:

I will give you a picture of Andersonville, in the summer and autumn of 1864, and this winter Our drinking water came from holes



in the ground four or five feet deep. While it was clear, there were many dead maggots in the bottom, but we did not mind them, thinking the water to be much better than that in the brook. One day in August a stream of water broke out just inside the stockade. It ran all the time, but the dead line was between us and the water. We procured boards and made a trough; then we got permission to put it up, so we had fine water all the rest of the time we were there. We called it Providence Spring.

Our rations for the most part were a pint of boiled rice, without salt, for 24 hours. But often it would be 48 hours, for every time Captain [Camp Commandant Henry] Wirz would discover a new tunnel, that had been dug for means of escape, he would punish us all by skipping our rations. Occasionally we could get some small black beans, such as the planters raised for hogs. These we would cook with green pitch-pine, with very poor results.

After many months I was paroled and sent down the River to board a Union steamer. The sight of the Stars and Stripes brought tears to every eye. On board our heads were shaved, we were bathed and clad anew; then judiciously fed. Meanwhile our old clothes went overboard. When I reached Annapolis, I tipped the scales at 75 pounds, less than half my weight when I enlisted.

I am now in Parole Camp. I expect to be sent home on a 30-day furlough, and hope to rejoin my Regt, as soon as I can regain my health.

22 February 1865 near Petersburg, Virginia:

The weather is splendid and everything is quiet along the lines. Scarcely any Canon is heard now days. Yesterday, however, we were delighted to hear a salute of 100 guns in honor of the success of the gallant [General William T.] Sherman. Lieut. Porter was at Corp. Head-Quarters yesterday, and he brought us the news, glorious if true, that the very Hot-Bed of Secession, Charleston [South Carolina] is now occupied by our forces, under Gillmore, with the capture of over 200 Canon.

There seems to be no Rebel force capable of stopping Sherman. And when Grant gets another crack at Lee he will sing a different song. But I hardly believe Lee will remain long in Richmond. I hope he does, though, for whenever he goes, we will have to go after him. But I cannot see where he could go to get as strong a position as he is in now. He may see fit to decide it on his present line.

The Sinking Cause of the Rebels does indeed look gloomy. Look



wherever they may, they find their Cause failing; their Armies crumbling; their Corps crushed! Desperation alone keeps them together. The many deserters that come daily into our lines, now come fully armed, which they have never done before. And to find Arms now perplexes Lee. Since the fall of Fort Fisher [near Wilmington North Carolina, the last open port left to the Confederacy], Blockade Runners can't get in with English Rifles, so I think that is one reason they do not harm their Slaves.

The Rebels would be stronger by evacuating their Coast Cities. They could bring all their forces together, probably under Lee. Then with ours under Grant, there might be fought on the Soil of Virginia, one grand battle, the equal of which the World has never seen for the past 200 years. This I am sure would settle the fate of their boasted Confederacy. What a battle that would be. It would be worth a Life to be there. The Rebels would do battle with a will, for they fight very bravely. They are foes in battle of which any man need never feel ashamed to combat.

But ere that hour arrives, I believe they will sue for peace. They can't help seeing that all chance for them is gone. But either to fight, or surrender, they will find General Grant ready and willing to accommodate them. In Sherman's success Grant's is the directing hand. And to him belongs a portion of the praise. Let the North think of that occasionally.

I think this Army, though lying quietly behind breastworks, are doing as much towards crushing the Rebellion, as does the victorious Army of Sherman, which is demonstrating to the World that what Grant said last December is true – that “this Rebellion is nothing but a shell, and Sherman's march will prove it.”

March 24-25, 1865: Lincoln visits City Point (Hopewell Virginia) to review Union troops:

We were reviewed by the President; Lieut-Gen U. S. Grant; Major-Gen. Meade, and a host of lesser lights. President Lincoln looks much more care-worn and older than when I used to see him nearly every day in Washington. His son, Master Tad, was with him. There were several Carriage loads of Ladies present. Among them twas said were Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Douglas.

April 9: Marching toward Lynchburg, Virginia:

We have-since the [final] current Campaign commenced, captured above 25,000 of the Enemy. They fight bravely for their doomed cause, and I hope soon to see once more a United Cause. While I am writing this a flag of truce is between the armies and I hope ere nightfall



to hear that the enemy have surrendered, and that these two armies will never again have to fight each other. I hope that the Rebel Commander will see it in that light, and save further bloodshed. If he will not, one of the bloodiest Battles of the War will be fought in a few hours. I believe there is no escape for them

April 10: Near Lynchburg

I guess now General Grant and the Army of the Potomac have proved to the world what they are made of! I hear that there will be a formal surrender today – then after that I expect we will start for Danville, where [Confederate General] Johnston is reported to be. With his capture ends this cursed Rebellion. I do not anticipate that he will make any further defense when he learns that the Army of Lee has “gone up.”

How glad I am that I remained in the Army, instead of leaving as all advised me last Winter. I saw nearly the beginning of the Rebellion, and I hope to see its end. It is almost too good to be true. The Army of Northern Virginia is no more! I should think Fast Day in New England would be celebrated in earnest this year. It should also be a Thanksgiving.

April 14: At Appomattox:

By the arrival of the mail I see that yesterday was Fast Day in glorious old Mass [Massachusetts]. I think it was the first time I at least did not remember that day. In the morning I had a good bath in the brook nearby. I found the water decidedly cool, but don't think I'll catch cold from it. Then in the afternoon I took a walk. I went over to see the village of Appomattox. It presents the same appearance of all Southern Villages that I've seen. It is not quite as large as Felchville [a neighborhood of Natick]. Contains a Court House, Hotel, Jail, and a few other buildings—all in the worst repair. The Jail is burnt – nothing but the brick walls remain. All the State has the same appearance – played out.

April 16: News of Lincoln's assassination:

We found the Camp here greatly excited over the report that President Lincoln has been assassinated. Also Seward. I can't ascertain where we are going, or what we are to do. If this report be true, we should shoot or hang every Rebel... The official order of the death of the President has just arrived. I am crying, Mollie! All the men are crying – men that I never saw cry before!

April 22: Confederate forces led by General Johnston have surrendered and all fighting in the East has ceased: Brown and his company has marched to Danville, Virginia



We hear that Jeff Davis is fleeing as fast as possible from the Country. I hope he will be caught. The best friend the Rebs had in authority, the lamented Lincoln, has fallen by the hand of one of their assassins. And the only fault, "if any," we found with President Lincoln was being too lenient with traitors. But President Andrew Johnson is a man of another caliber. I certainly believe if Jeff Davis is caught, he will be tried, and if convicted of treason, he will be hung.

I think Jeff Davis should be punished just as much as J. Wilkes Booth, for while the latter assassinated our President, the former assassinated thousands of the Republic's children, and nearly killed the Republic itself. I believe that nearly three-quarters of this Army believe as I do.

Mollie, I think you have seen many hours when you have almost, if not quite, despaired at our ever succeeding in putting down this cursed Rebellion, have you not? But my darling, I can truly say I have never seen that moment.

Late May 1865: Reflections on the Grand Review in Washington, D.C.

Reveille was sounded in our camp at about three o'clock, and we started for Washington, by way of Long Bridge, at four and one-half o'clock. We marched to the Navy Yard Barracks, nearly seven miles from Camp, to arrive at our position in the line of the Grand Review...The procession started precisely at nine o'clock, and what a glorious sight – the War-hardened veterans, with proud firm-step marching up the Avenue of the Capital City they had fought so arduously to defend...We marched at the right shoulder shift (this I will explain to you when I come Home) until we approached the Presidential Stand, which was built directly in front of the White House, and then we marched at Shoulder Arms. And how we marched. Mollie, you can't imagine how proud I felt, that I was privileged to be one of this great Company of veterans passing before the eyes of the President of the United States!

Editor's note: Brown mustered out of the army by early June and returned home to Mollie. Together they raised a family with children and grandchildren.



Remembering the John East Indian Burial Mound at Churchville, Va.

Compiled and written by Donald W. Houser Jr.

Editor's note: Augusta County native and retired journalist Don Houser has spent many years documenting the history of the Churchville area and has published several local history books.

Introduction

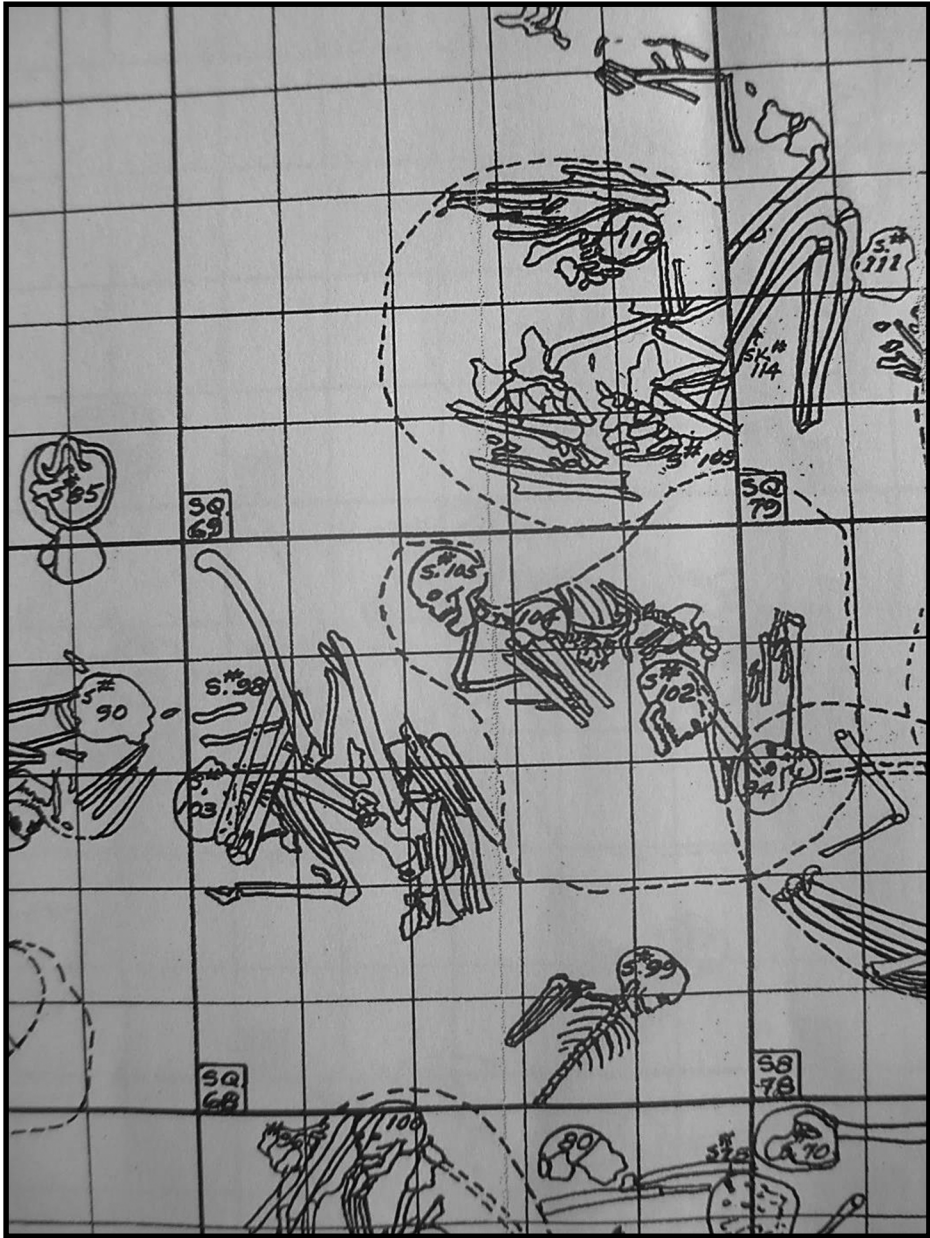
The John East Indian Burial Mound was located on the East family farm just east of Churchville, Virginia, on Rt. 722/Vinegar Hill Road. It was located in a field adjacent to Middle River. The site was some seven miles west of Staunton on U.S. 250 in Augusta County. This was one of several such mounds in the larger area including the Lewis Creek Mound near Staunton and a mound in Rockbridge County. All three mounds exhibited the same type structure and contents and are presumed to be from the same time period and culture.

It could be debated that it is not quite proper to use the term "Indians" when referring to the native people buried in the mound. Indigenous peoples living in this area 1,000 or so years ago were simply native populations of human beings occupying local areas.

These natives were not called "Indians" until arrival of the white man. Nor would they be called Native Americans, since at that time there was no "America" However, the mound is in fact recalled locally as "the Indian mound" and so this term can be used without a great deal of historical argument. And referring to them from today's viewpoint, "Native Americans" and "Indians" are appropriate terms and will be used in this document.

This project began as a simple report on results of the mound excavation to outline dig details and artifacts located during the dig. As new ideas and information from local residents occurred, the story expanded into its current size.

The wide area over which stone points, stone axe heads, pottery and other artifacts have been found provide what can be called strong evidence that a population of unknown size existed all around the general Churchville vicinity. One may speculate that in addition to villages near the mound, additional small villages or hamlets were located in the area.



A drawing shows burial positions of bodies found in the mound during the 1965 excavation. (Courtesy Kathleen Armstrong, artist)



A sincere thank you goes to the many Churchville area residents who shared their collections to be copied and for their time and thoughts on the mound and possible hamlet sites. This could not have been completed without their input.

The Early Shenandoah Valley

An overview of what the early Shenandoah Valley was like prior to white settlement may be in order. *The History of Augusta County*, written by John Lewis Peyton and published in 1882 stated that the Augusta County area was not visited by whites until 1716 and not colonized until 1732. Peyton notes that the Jamestown landing had occurred more than one hundred years before the Shenandoah Valley area was “discovered.” That discovery occurred near the present town of Elkton. The Churchville area likely remained undiscovered and thus unexplored for some time after that. History suggests that by the time this area was populated by early settlers, the local native inhabitants had long since disappeared.

Peyton describes the earlier colonization in Augusta County in this lengthy quote:

“During this long period no effort was made to penetrate into what was supposed to be an impenetrable region lying beyond high and inaccessible mountains. No one ventured to overcome these obstacles of nature and to enter a dismal solitude of irremediable barrenness and perpetual gloom, whose air was said to be infectious and mortal, the ground covered with serpents, the forests infested by wild beasts, and the indigenous inhabitants a race of fierce and brutal savages, hating strangers and implacable in their cruelty

It was only after the return of the “Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe” from their successful expedition over the mountains and into the Valley, that all previous accounts were discovered to be fabulous, and what was hitherto considered an accursed land was found to be a delightful region blessed with a delicious climate, rich fields, groves, shades and streams. From this period many persons seriously considered the question of making their homes in these Hesperian regions, and within less than twenty years of Spotswood’s return the valley became the permanent home of Europeans.

Alexander Spotswood became acting royal governor of Virginia in 1710, by which time pressure on the colony to expand had become more



acute than ever. In 1716, Governor Spotswood, with about 50 other men and 74 horses, led a real estate speculation expedition up the Rappahannock River valley during westward exploration of the interior of Virginia. The journalist of this expedition was a Huguenot, Lieut. John Fontaine, who served as an officer in the British Army.

The party included fourteen rangers and four Meherrin Indians, and departed Germanna on August 29, coming within sight of the Blue Ridge Mountains on August 31. They continued upriver past today's Stanardsville, reaching the head of the Rappahannock on September 2. Fontaine recorded in his journal for September 5 that axemen had to clear the way along the path of what he called the "James River", but which was in fact a creek along the eastern slope named Swift Run, surrounded on all sides by steep mountain terrain. Swift Run is part of the James River drainage system. The expedition had followed the Rappahannock drainage system up to this point.

There they crossed the top ridge of the Blue Ridge Mountains at Swift Run Gap (elevation 2,365 feet). On September 6, 1716, they rode down into the Shenandoah Valley on the east side of Massanutten Mountain and reached the Shenandoah River, which they called the "Euphrates" near the current town of Elkton. There, they fired multiple volleys and drank special toasts of wine, brandy, and claret to the King and to Governor Spotswood, naming the two peaks after them. The taller summit they called "Mount George," and the lesser, "Mount Spotswood."

On the banks of the river they buried a bottle, inside which they had put a paper whereby Spotswood claimed the place in the name of George I. On September 7, the party returned home, reaching Germanna on September 10."

Peyton continued in his book:

"...After the journey, Spotswood gave each officer of the expedition a stickpin made of gold and shaped like a horseshoe on which he had inscribed the words in Latin "*Sic juvat transcendere montes*," which translates into English as "Thus, it is pleasant to cross the mountains." The horseshoes were encrusted with small stones and were small enough to be worn from a watch chain. The members of Governor Spotswood's expedition soon became popularly known as the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.

At this period, 1716, of Col. Spotswood's discovery of the valley, it was the camping, hunting ground or residence of numerous tribes of Indians. These tribes, while wandering in pursuit of game from place to



place during a considerable part of the year, possessed a few scattered villages, comprising a limited number of habitations, of the most imperfect construction, where they were in the habit of passing winters and where they left their wives, children and old men during their absence. Round about these rude villages some feeble and ill-directed attempts at agriculture announced the more frequented and permanent haunts of savage life.

Their clothing consisted of skins, their feet being encased in a kind of sandal made of deer skin or other soft leather, called moccasin. It was, unlike the sandal, with a soft sole, and was ornamented on the upper side. They took fish with hooks made of fish bones or the spear, or caught them in nets. For hunting and in war they used clubs, bows and arrows and tomahawks headed with stone. . . .

The Valley of Virginia was in 1716 without extensive forests, but the margins of streams were fringed with trees. There were pretty woodlands in the low grounds and the mountain sides were densely covered with timber trees. The wood destroyed by autumnal fires was replaced by a luxuriant growth of blue grass, white clover and other natural grasses and herbage....there were many varieties of game and wild animals. The luxuriance of the vegetation evinced the fertility of a soil which required only the hand of art to render it in the highest degree subservient to the wants of man. But the nomads of the valley were averse to improvement and their indolence refused to cultivate the earth and their restless spirit disdained the confinement of sedentary life.

To prevent the growth of timber and preserve the district as pasture, that it might support as much game as possible, and that the grass might come forward in the early Spring, the savages, before retiring into winter quarters, set on fire the dry grass and burnt over the country."

The East Mound

Gerald Fowke was an early archeologist. He was born June 5, 1855, location unknown, and died March 5, 1933, in Madison, Indiana. In the late 1800s he concentrated on working with a team of archeologists to locate and excavate various Indian mounds in Eastern Virginia. He wrote extensively about his discoveries.

Fowke must have visited Augusta County and the Churchville area, at least briefly. In his 1894 book *Archeologic Investigations in James and Potomac Valley*, he made a brief comment about Augusta County. "Several mounds formerly existed in this county, but all have been obliterated."



ated by cultivation except one on Middle River, a few rods from the bridge on the Staunton and Churchville road. This, after long cultivation, is about five feet high."

When Fowke wrote about the road location, he was writing about the "old road" from Churchville to Staunton. At that time, the road crossed Middle River on a steel bridge, still visible now as an abutment, continued through a field to the west and then went up and across what is now known as Vinegar Hill. The road then crossed a small concrete bridge across Whiskey Creek at the east end of Churchville.

According to Jean East in August 2015, there was an apple orchard on top of their hills and a packing shed was built on the hill alongside the road. At one time there were also a cluster of small log cabins. Several residents made apple cider and vinegar at that location. Vinegar Hill got its name from this activity. (It could as easily been known as Cider Hill.) Per East and other local Churchville residents, a man named Jim Helmick lived on the hill and was one of the people making these products from local apples.

In the mid-to-late 1930s, U.S. 250, was relocated to cross Middle River downstream about a quarter mile or more north and downstream from the original bridge. That newer section of the highway was again widened a few years ago in the River Hill Garden area, and the bridge crossing the river was replaced with the current wider bridge.

Many longtime Churchville area residents can recall seeing what was known as the Indian burial mound on the John East farm. It was a few hundred yards from and visible from the current East house. From early records, the mound was about forty-five feet wide and fifty-five feet long. Over the years, this mound had been dug into at least several times by amateurs. No known photos or records were kept. If any artifacts were found from those digs, they have disappeared into private collections or were eventually lost.

The first coordinated and documented dig was in 1952 when several limited test digs were conducted by the Archaeological Society of Virginia. The second and final dig was in 1965 when the mound was totally excavated and leveled. These two official digs were conducted and documented by experienced archaeologists and volunteers. For these digs, detailed records and photographs were kept. Readers interested in the full dig report should refer to the publications in the bibliography produced by the Archaeological Society of Virginia.



By the 1965 dig, the East mound had been reduced to only about eighteen to twenty-four inches in height above the surrounding field. The early amateur digs and years of cultivation over the mound had contaminated the site. Cultivation had resulted in bones and stone being dragged into surrounding field areas. The approximate low height was verified by Kathleen Armstrong of Lone Fountain, a local volunteer archaeologist who assisted with the dig. She noted that the full size of the mound was almost fifty feet in diameter. She and her husband Harold now reside in Bridgewater.

What was found in the mound?

Some 143 skeletons and partial skeletons were found during the 1965 dig. Because the mound had been perhaps five feet high in past years, speculation was that up to 300 burials may have been in the total mound. Some of the bones were so deteriorated they could not be recovered. Those that could be recovered were sent to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C., for study and for aging. Those identified included an infant, several children, and mostly young or middle aged adults.

Pieces of stone uncovered in the mound included jasper, grey and black chert (flint), quartzite, and quartz. All of these materials were likely native to the area. Some of these were projectile points, others were flakes probably created when the points were made. Artifacts recovered included stone pipes, fragments of pipes, and some broken pieces of pottery. There were a few shell beads discovered, many too fragile to recover. An eagle talon bone was found. Animal bones included deer and small mammals.

The mound was dated at between 960 A.D. (give or take 290 years) and 1320 A.D., give or take 150 years. That means that the mound was in use for about 300 years.

Some items found in the mound such as stone chips and pieces of animal bone may have been deposited there when the natives scooped up nearby earth and placed it on top of new burials. This would point to the presence of a village in the immediate vicinity of the mound. The nearby river provided the stones covering the mound burials.

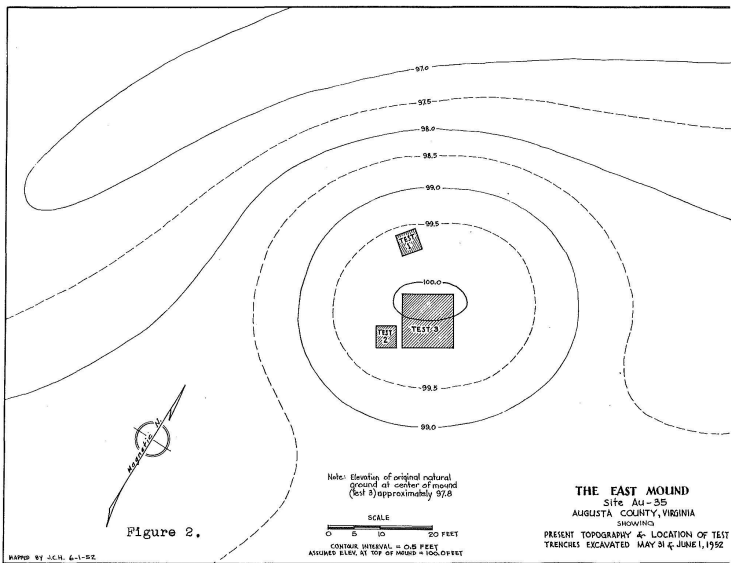
The East Mound time period

Archeologists familiar with similar burial mounds containing similar artifacts from other Virginia locations identified the East Mound as being created during the Late Woodlands time period.

Photographs from the Digs

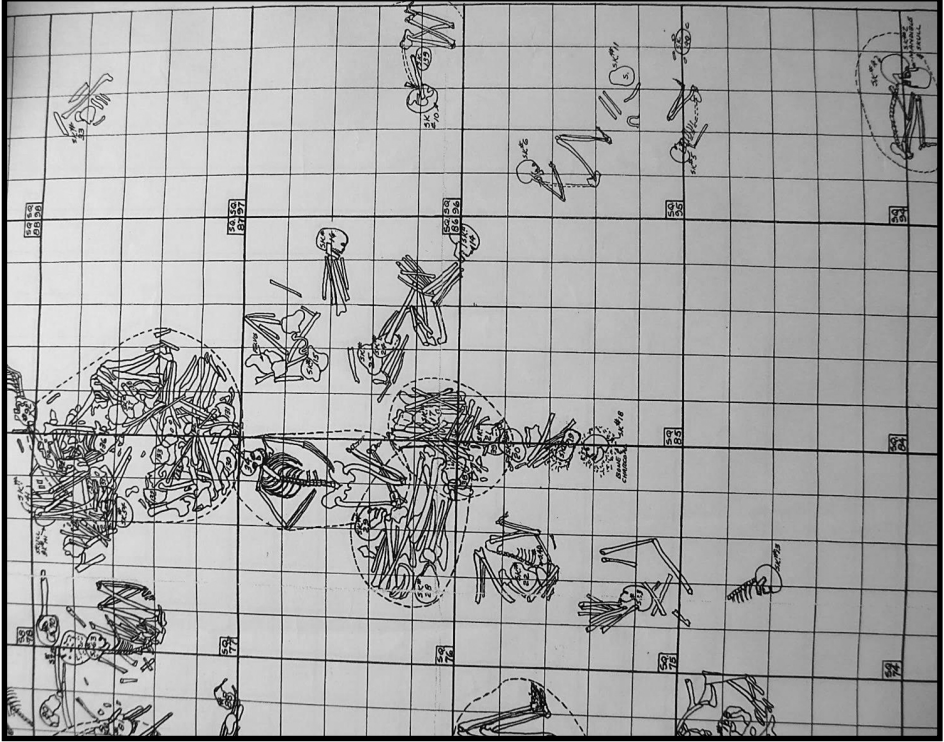
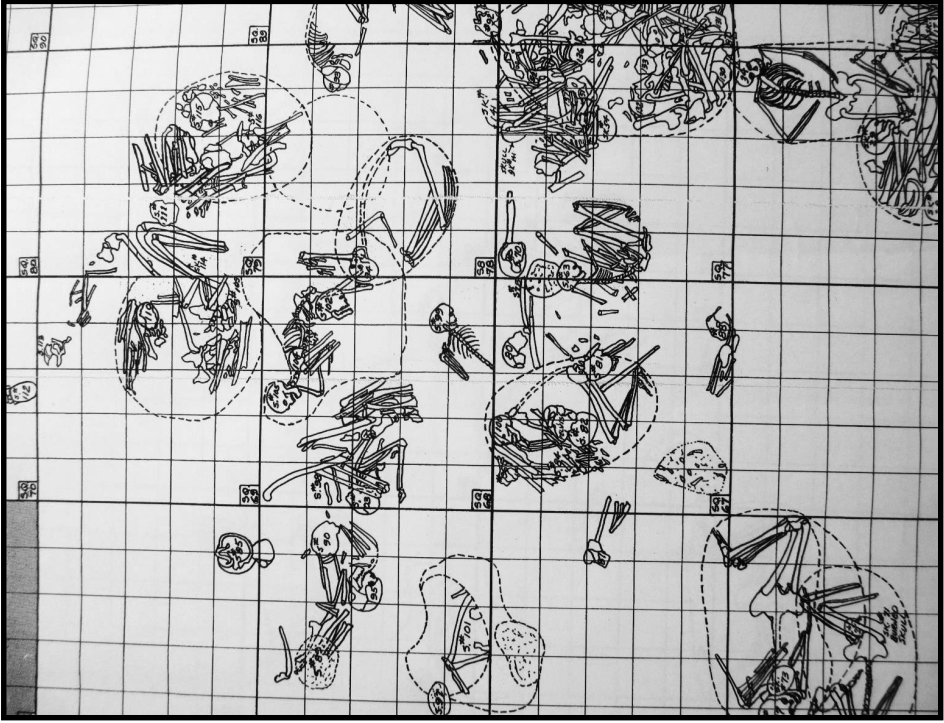


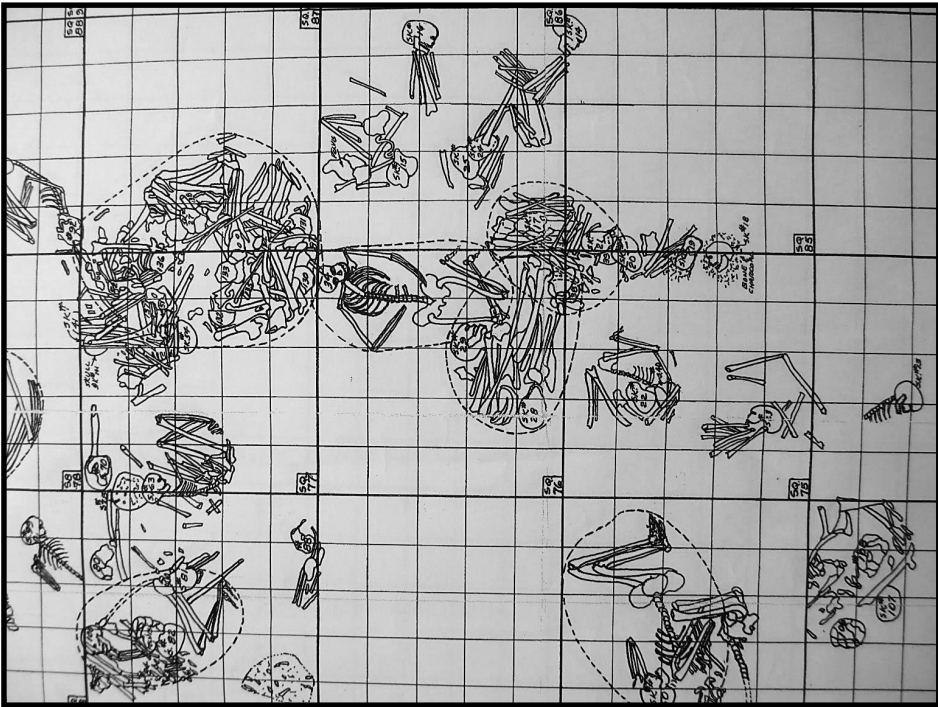
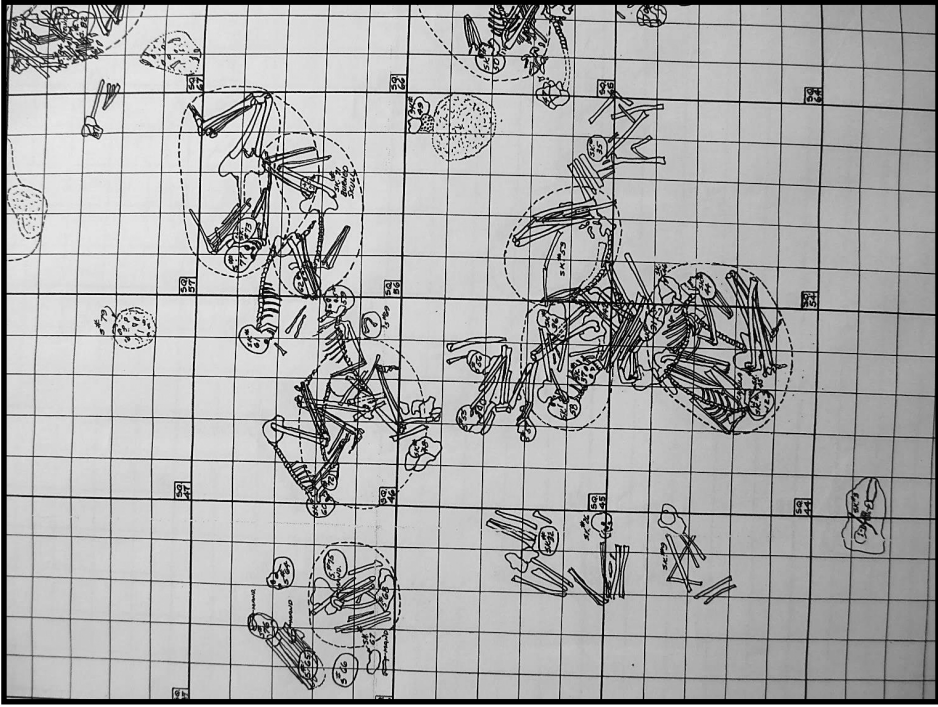
Figure 1. Excavation of Cut 3, East Mound, looking north. The two tripods mark the approximate limits of the site.



The Mound Site, top, during the 1952 excavation of the East Mound looking north. Middle River Bridge is in the distance. (Courtesy Archaeological Society of Virginia)

Map from the 1952 dig, showing East Mound and its environs. (Courtesy Archaeological Society of Virginia)







In May 2015, Kathleen Armstrong of Lone Fountain, Virginia, showed a map that she helped create to record each burial found during the mound excavation in 1965. She was one of the volunteers participating in the dig, coordinated by Gilbert R. Kenzie and Olier Valliere. The first image in this article shows a section of this map. Additional sections of the map appear on the previous two pages. Some of the burials were in the prone position; some in the fetal position. This may indicate the deceased was buried shortly after his or her death. However, many burials were just collections of bones and some burials were of multiple persons. Some of the bones in clusters showed signs of cremation. Is it possible that persons who died a distance from the mound were at least partially cremated before being transferred to the mound for burial? Would this account for the clusters of three or four burials in the same section?



Shell necklace from the East burial mound. (Gordon Barlow collection)



April 1965: View of mound after first weekend of the dig. The man (difficult to see) in the center of the dig is from the Smithsonian. Stakes are visible for ten-foot squares that were excavated later during the dig. Standing among the stakes are, left to right, Earl Houser, Richard Masincup, and Earl Downs.



April 1965. Five burials covered to protect them from rain.



Gilbert R. Kinzie records data from the stone piles. (Courtesy Archaeological Society of Virginia)



April 1965 Bodies were located just beneath the rocks. Four stone points were located here. The rocks were apparently obtained from the nearby Middle River and placed alongside and atop new burials.



April 1965: View of mound taken from the old bridge over Middle River and looking northward toward the newer bridge in the distance.



The Mound Site today: The mound field (left) in May 2015, looking east from Va. 722. The mound was located in the distance in the field toward the tree line that is along-side Middle River. No evidence of the mound is visible. It resembles the surrounding pasture land. The August 2015 photo (bottom) shows the original mound site but no evidence remains of the dig. The river and the field that we see today are likely what the mound people saw. The nearby hills may or may not have been wooded, but their view was mostly what we see today.



April 1965: Skeletons of infants are covered by paper. Some stones at left have been removed from the mound, after their positions were sketched. Stakes, visible in the field, mark ten-foot squares to be exca-



April 1965 Five burials apparently deposited all at once into a common pit. Note ten-foot squares dug out and the different layers.



April 1965: One of the nearly complete skeletons from the mound. A stone point was found beneath the left foot.



April 1965: The skeletal remains just prior to removal. The body had rested some four feet beneath the surface for several hundred years until the sun could again shine on his face.



April 1965: The skeleton has been removed from the pit, at top of photo. Here an archaeologist, possibly O.D. Valliere, sketches three burials. Two skulls are barely visible in the pit, just under his knee and in the shade.



May 1965: Workers sketched locations of stones prior to their removal and discovery of what might be found underneath.



May 1965: Near the end of the dig another group burial was found in the mound. Records indicate the dig was completed May 22, 1965.

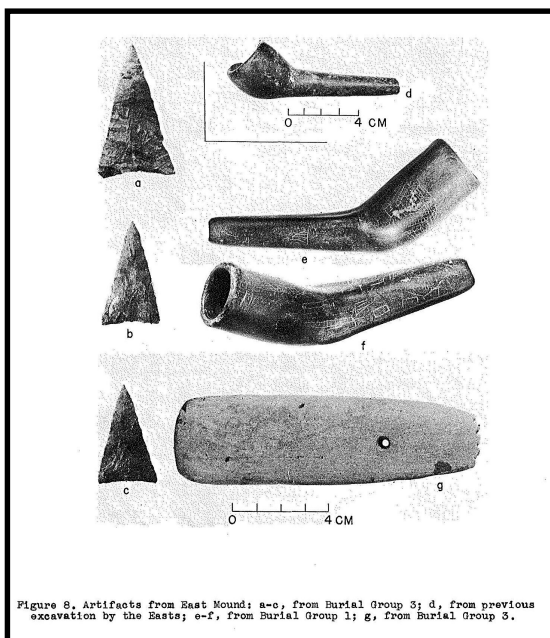


Figure 8. Artifacts from East Mound: a-c, from Burial Group 3; d, from previous excavation by the Easts; e-f, from Burial Group 1; g, from Burial Group 3.

A few artifacts found in the mound including numerous stone points. (Courtesy Archaeological Society of Virginia)



***The Encyclopedia Virginia*, a publication of Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, gives the following information concerning the Late Woodlands era:**

“The Late Woodland Period lasted from A.D. 900 until 1650. It was a time when Virginia Indian societies underwent important social and cultural transformations. It traditionally has been dated from the supposed widespread adoption of maize agriculture. During this period scattered populations consolidated into large villages and towns, occasionally fortified; they also built burial mounds or ossuaries (large burial pits) and developed into some of the most socially and politically complex groups on the Atlantic Coast.

“The period’s end date comes almost five decades after the establishment in 1607 of the English colony at Jamestown. The new settlement eventually upended Virginia Indian societies, including the once-powerful Powhatan Indians of Tsenacomoco. Written records by John Smith and other English colonists have helped modern historians reconstruct those early Indian cultures, especially those on Virginia’s Coastal Plain; however, because such records reflect the writers’ European biases, archaeological evidence is critical to a full understanding of Virginia Indians during this period. This is especially true for regions west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, where earlier Indian cultures had vanished by the time English explorers and colonists had moved this far west.

***The Encyclopedia* goes on to describe the period of the Churchville mound:**

“The Late Woodland Period is the third and most recent division of the Woodland Period, which also includes the Early Woodland (1000–400 B.C.) and Middle Woodland (400 B.C.–A.D. 900) periods. Archaeologists have created classifications of pottery types, or wares, to help them date Late Woodland sites based on differences in surface treatments or decoration; in pot size and shape; and on inclusions, or temper—the material added to the clay to prevent a pot from breaking under heat during manufacture or use.

“Common tempers added to Late Woodland ceramics included crushed stone (quartz, limestone), sand, and crushed shellfish. Although radiocarbon dating was first used in Virginia in 1957 to date the Kerns site in Clarke County, surprisingly few radiocarbon dates have been obtained on Late Woodland sites in Virginia. Current understanding of the variations across time and space for Virginia’s Late Woodland cultures still rests very much on observable differences in their pottery wares.



“Another important item of the Late Woodland peoples’ material culture was the triangular arrowhead. The bow and arrow were actually introduced to Virginia during the Middle Woodland Period but became increasingly important during the Late Woodland Period, when deer hunting increased dramatically—especially for presenting deer-skins in tribute to chiefs or in trade with the first Europeans—and when hostilities increased between some Indian groups.”

The Encyclopedia continues:

“Other important Late Woodland Period artifacts include bone tools (used to process deerskins), often made from the bones of butchered deer. Beads and other ornaments were made from bones, shell, or copper and, in some cases, were limited for use by elite members of society.

“Virginia’s climate became essentially modern as early as 6,000 years ago, and Virginia Indians were well acquainted with their environment and its indigenous resources during the Late Woodland Period. One major global climatic event that occurred during that period was a phenomenon known as the Little Ice Age, which some researchers date from A.D. 1400 to 1800. The Little Ice Age caused multiyear droughts—including from 1607 to 1609, when the Jamestown colony was being established.

“Indian families living in the Late Woodland Period built two major house types using a framework of saplings. Single families built and lived in dome-shaped houses with circular floor plans throughout the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley regions. Houses with oval to rectangular floor plans but rounded ends were built on the Coastal Plain and were occupied by multiple families, probably related along the maternal line. The rounded ends of these longhouses and their orientation minimized the destructive effects of fierce winter winds. The Jordan’s Point site, located in Prince George County on the Coastal Plain, had houses with both circular floor plans and more rectangular floor plans.

“At the beginning of the Late Woodland Period, Indian people lived in small family groups that archaeologists refer to as hamlets. Along the north and south forks of the Shenandoah River and the Potomac River, as well as in southwestern Virginia, Indian families joined together to live in compact, planned communities that often consisted of dome-shaped houses placed in a larger circle around a common plaza. These ring-shaped settlements were often surrounded by a palisade—a wall of upright wooden posts.



Late woodland natives are recorded as having built this type of structure for shelter. Thick grasses covered a wooden framework and sheets of tree bark offer protection for this hut. The wooden palisades around the village would have offered at least some protection from hostile people as well as from large animals. Here, the palisade is not yet built to its full height. We can speculate that this type of hut and palisade may have been located in hamlets along Middle River at the John East Mound and other sites near the springs at Jennings Branch and Whiskey Creek. This recreated structure is displayed at the Frontier Culture Museum in Staunton. (Photos by the author)



"The palisade protected villagers from their enemies and from wild animal predators such as bears, but also helped give villagers a sense of identity as a community. Palisaded villages seem to date largely after A.D. 1200 and many date after A.D. 1400."

Local springs and possible impact on the natives

Researching for this report resulted in learning about some sixteen springs in the vicinity. Many of these springs may have played an important role in where villages were built. There are possibly more that played a role. Relatively near the burial mound are two strong springs. Thomas Ashby said one is on the east side of Eagle Rock Lane. It flows out of the hillside, beneath the road, and into Middle River near the remains of the old bridge when the old road crossed the river prior to the new road being built. This spring was several hundred yards from the mound. Ashby said another spring is below River Hill Gardens, in the hill behind the Lone Fountain Landscape building. That one also empties into Middle River. It is further from the mound site but still in the vicinity.

Moving upstream on Middle River, there were likely more springs. Passing the stone outcropping known locally as Eagle Rock, the next big spring was Cave Spring. It is a strong spring and empties into Middle River. A short distance west of Cave Spring, Middle River and Dry Branch merge. The wide flat field between them was the site several hundred years after the mound was abandoned, of the Keller stone house, known as the Indian fort. Historical reports say the stone house was built over a spring, thus providing water to people in the house during periodic sieges with hostile Indians. Phillip E. Khnopp reports that the spring still exists.

On Whiskey Creek, a spring is below what is known locally as the Van Lear house. The residence has been torn down but in the early days the spring was the water source for the house. Residents carried water up the hill. Further upstream and past Green Hill Lane is a spring just west of the Sterrett Mill, and across from what used to be called the Sterrett house, then the Cease house. This is across Va. Rt. 42/ Buffalo Gap Highway and southwest from the Sam Thacker house. At one time the spring was protected by a springhouse made of limestone blocks. Those blocks have disappeared. The spring empties into Whiskey Creek. Continuing upstream, a spring existed in the lower yard of the Stover house, now the home of the Oscar Campbell family. That spring no longer flows and the springhouse has been removed.



Just upstream, there are no reported springs on the Sellers property but further upstream is the large spring called Castle Spring or Castle Rock. This is known locally as the beginning of Whiskey Creek, although that spring water does flow into a smaller stream coming from further west.

On Jennings Branch, a cave behind the former Cecil Altizer house provides a strong spring that has served as a water source for the house. Continuing upstream to where Whiskey Creek merges into Jennings Branch, there are more springs. Robert L. Campbell Jr., whose family resided near the east end of the village, recalled in August 2015: "There is a big spring about 100 yards below, east, of our land that was used by the Siegs and is nearly behind the house of Lacy Boward. There is another decent spring very near the intersection of Whiskey Creek and Jennings Branch. I drank from it many times fishing and working hay fields. There were at least four springs that I know of within 200 yards of the intersection of Whiskey and Jennings. One was on our land but was very small and used for chickens only."

Further west on Jennings Branch, a spring existed in the hillside near where St. Peter's Lutheran Church now stands. In the 1800s and possibly into the early 1900s it provided a water source for village residents. Ashby noted, "Along Hotchkiss Road, three springs in Dad's field (which now belong to my wife and me) bubble up strongly in several different places and form a small stream that flows into Jennings Branch. There was another spring that flowed from the bottom of the hill just below the Hotchkiss house and across the field to join the springs mentioned above. It was a water source for the Mongold house until it became intermittent in flow. It still has the remains of a stone enclosure around it." These springs formed what was later known as Loch Willow.

Ashby said that he understood many natives felt that springs held a special power and were respected. To them, fresh water appeared out of nowhere, and so deserved respect. Another spring is located just north of the IGA Shopping Center location. That spring later fed the mill race that led to the Churchville mill, along Hotchkiss Road before merging into Jennings Branch.

What could the springs indicate?

Artifacts such as stone points, stone axe heads, and pieces of pottery have been found near most of these springs. Certainly the natives may have preferred living near a supply of fresh water.



Middle River: The East family and Bobby Linkous found artifacts in pastures near the mound and where two springs are located. Upstream at Cave Spring, a stone axe or tomahawk head was found. A stone point was located in a field just west of the Middle River and Dry Branch merge.

Jennings Branch: Numerous artifacts were found in the general vicinity of the Churchville/Altizer spring and also inside the cave in a smaller rear room. More points were found in the vicinity of the four springs near Whiskey Creek and Jennings Branch. Points and pottery shards were found near three springs on the Ashby property.

Whiskey Creek: Artifacts were found near the Van Lear land, also at the Bear property and along the field bordering Va. Rt. 42/ Buffalo Gap Highway. These were not far from the springs at the Sterrett/Cease house and the old Stover house. Land around Whiskey Creek has not historically seen much plowing. Artifacts likely exist there but are covered by sod. Artifacts are easier to find in plowed fields.

What could that mean? All of these springs are near flat fields which were probably created over eons of time by rivers cutting new channels and depositing silt, creating deep fertile soil. Could this suggest that a small group of natives lived in their small huts at or near these springs?

Local discovery of stone artifacts

The indigenous population had access to bows and arrows during the time period that the mound was in use. The bow and arrow was first used as a tool for the Woodland Indians of this region about 700 A.D. However, to describe all stone points found in the area as "arrowheads" would be erroneous. First, an indigenous presence in the area goes back thousands of years – long before the use of the bow and arrow. In a society that used little or no metal, stone was the material used for all points and blades and even for grinding and pounding, and for bowls. Stone points are a better way to describe these artifacts, knowing that they could have been affixed on spears, darts, and arrows. Stone blades could also be used as knives and scrapers. The variety and number of stone points, stone axe heads, and pottery shards found throughout the area is significant. These artifacts have been found in numerous local areas near Churchville including along Middle River, Jennings Branch, and Whiskey Creek. Some points were small, which could have been used for hunting birds, possibly turkeys, or even for



spearing fish, eels, and frogs. The larger points would have been appropriate for deer and elk. Photos of some of these artifacts appear at the end of this article.

During the summer of 2015, local residents displayed and discussed a number of stone artifacts they had found in the area. More time to research and interview would almost certainly have located more residents willing to share such artifacts.

Richard L. Masincup has projectile points. He said his father, Lee, found two while working in their flower bed. The Masincups resided along U.S. 250 just west of Hanger's Mill. Bobby C. Linkous and his family lived alongside U.S. 250 near Middle River and River Hill Gardens in the 1950s. He later lived with the Cecil T. Altizer family. In July 2015, he recalled that in the 1950s or so, "Seems that I went to the mound a couple of times but saw nothing remarkable. I found some points along the river near the 250 bridge and in the triangular field at the intersection of 250 and Vinegar Hill Road across from the Campfield house (then). I found a few on the Altizer farm in the bottoms by the creek and on the hill behind the house and big barn. Bill Altizer had a good collection of points and a few dubious tomahawk heads and quartz crystals (whereabouts unknown). It seems most of mine have disappeared but I'm still looking to find them in safe places."

Linkous added, "There was an Indian museum run by a man named Miller. It was located on 250 east of Staunton near Rowe's restaurant and later moved to the flea market in the old Verona skating rink. Everything was auctioned after his death a few years ago. There were lots of arrowheads, tools, and pottery found near Churchville." What became of them is unknown.

Glenn O. Slack recalled, "I remember Bob Linkous always came to school with an arrow head in his pocket. That was when we were in grade school in the 1950s."

In July 2015, Tom and Anna Ashby contributed the following information: "You may recall the Ashby slaughter house on what is now Eagle Rock Road below River Hill Gardens. It was located on the east side of Middle River and the mound in question was directly across from it on the west side about seventy-five yards from the stream.

"When I was young the mound was (it seems) six or seven feet in height and fifteen or twenty feet wide at the base. At some point in the late 1950s or early 1960s the mound was excavated by professors and



students from perhaps a local college. I left Churchville in '59 to join the army so I am recalling what other family members told me about it. The mound itself is much reduced in size from what I recall as a young boy but the site is still visible from the Vinegar Hill Road. It is near the old Churchville Road bridge abutment at Middle River.

"As an aside, when my father owned the field adjoining Middle River just east of the Middle River bridge (now a nursery for landscaping trees) he used it for hay and pasture. One year in the seventies he decided to plow it for the first time in order to plant corn. A man stopped at the house soon afterward and got permission to search the plowed grounds for artifacts. He later told Dad that he had found a very rare carved stone breast plate in the field."

Ashby continued, "I don't have any idea whether this had any connection to the mound (three hundred or so yards away) but the early Indians were known to favor the stream bottoms because the alluvial soils attracted a lot more game animals than the uplands. Early white settlers found many of these "bottom lands" open because of the Indians' practice of setting fire to the tall grasses on them each fall in order to kill tree sprouts and to encourage new growth attractive to game. Silt deposits from flooding kept these fields perpetually fertile."

Referring to the Ashby property along Hotchkiss Road, Ashby said, "I don't recall finding any arrow points in Dad's field (which would have been difficult without plowing) but he later bought the hill above the creek from John Neff. It was covered in apple trees, which he cleared and then plowed the field for corn. On the north end of the field on the bluff overlooking Jennings Branch one of my brothers found several arrowheads, some pot shards, etc. I went there later and found a couple more points, some chert flakes and some greenstone fragments. The nearest greenstone I am aware of is on Afton Mountain above Waynesboro. These items were all found within an area about an acre in size. I suspect there was a small village or encampment there at one time," Ashby concluded.

In about the early 1960s land was purchased from the W.T. Bear tract to expand the school property. A new ball diamond was being built. The sod had been removed from what would become the infield and students were picking up rocks and removing them. A student found a small arrowhead in the dirt between what is now second and third base.

Richard Aziz East and his mother Mrs. Jean East noted that they have a collection of stone points found on their property.



Upstream from the mound, Phillip E. Khnopp owns land known as Trinity Point Farm. He says: "I only know that I have heard of many people who used to find many arrowheads and such in the fields at Trinity point Farm, when they tilled the soil."

The 1932 History of Churchville, created by the Churchville Woman's Club [also included in this *Bulletin* issue], has a notation that "A man in the neighborhood has a collection of Indian arrowheads."

In August, Robert L. Campbell Jr. noted that his family had located points in their garden. The family lived at what is known locally as the lower end of the village and to others as the eastern end. He recalled, "I'd say maybe six to eight points. We figured since we were very near the junction of Whiskey Creek and Jennings Branch it was a good place to hunt or maybe camp. Our garden was at the level of Whiskey Creek and then behind the chicken house the land falls off fifteen or so feet and goes back to Jennings Branch".

Campbell also reported that a number of artifacts had been found by Bill Altizer inside the cave known as Churchville Cave. The location of those artifacts is not known today. An axe head or tomahawk head was located near the spring.

In the Jerusalem Chapel Road area near McKittrick's Branch and Lone Fountain, numerous stone points have been found. Rick Snyder noted in August that his father had a collection of points.

Not far from Whiskey Creek, a point was found along Va. Rt. 42/ Buffalo Gap Highway by John Halterman Jr. He also has a stone axe head found in the same area. The W.T. Bear II family recalls that several points were located along Whiskey Creek on their property. Not many points have been reported found on land along Whiskey Creek. As noted previously, little of that land has been plowed and cultivated, so any artifacts there today would be hidden beneath pasture. Certainly over the hundreds of years of occupancy, the natives must have explored all these areas. All of these areas would have been their home territory. That is, of course, speculation.

In early September, Dennis Sellers reported about his family farm along Whiskey Creek. "Dad has said that they used to find arrowheads on the face of the hill behind my house. I have never found any, but to me that is too steep to plow, but they did back in the day."

Speculations

It is not known how many natives lived in the Churchville area.



Probably not a large number. The fact that artifacts were located in scattered locations, as well as the limited number of such items suggests a somewhat small and scattered population. Some historians have suggested about seventy-five possible residents.

Logic suggests that had all lived in one area, such as near the mound, they would soon have exhausted their food supply for that immediate area. If small bands of family had scattered around the area, each group would have had its own primary hunting areas, helping ensure game was not eliminated. Plants were also a food source.

It is possible that these family groups did sometimes relocate their camps, even during the year, to follow game or if a local spring dried up. They may have moved around the general area, but without leaving the vicinity. They may have used the same campsites annually at different times of the year depending on availability of plants and animals for food sources.

Archaeologists said evidence was found of several villages near the mound site. Possibly that was the main center for the local population while other families resided in the wider vicinity near the springs. We can figure that the population was there for at least a few hundred years, based on the mound data.

The natives obviously visited the central mound area, since burials occurred there for at least 300 years. The very early white explorers stated the valley held a number of nomads. It may be that "our" local population did not wander far, because the mound is evidence of a long-term occupation. One may also debate how far and how often the natives would have to move to be truly nomads. Moving around a general area to follow game or food supply would likely not constitute a nomadic population if we consider nomads to be a people almost constantly on the move from place to place.

Near all these springs and streams was an abundant area of mostly flat land. It would have been a good place for early agriculture. History says natives in this time period were growing squash, beans, and corn. Maybe it was being grown locally although no evidence exists. The surrounding hills may have been at least somewhat wooded, providing good habitat for game such as deer. The earliest accounts of the Shenandoah Valley state it was a brushy and even an open grass land area with few trees except on the mountains and along the rivers. The areas probably offered good hunting for deer and other animals, and



provided wild grains, berries, and nuts, as well as fish in the streams. Certainly the population was sustained for hundreds of years.

The hills, mountains, and skyline seen by natives back then would be virtually the skyline seen by local residents today. Woodlands have likely sprung up where once there was open prairie, but the geographic features would not likely have changed.

Another theory involves hunting trips of several days. What did hunters carry with them? When indigenous hunters left camp, perhaps they did not always carry a heavy stone axe with them. They may not have carried pottery, if they had any. Pottery and axes may have been left at the home base, where their huts were built and where they would return. Therefore, could it be likely that a place where pottery shards and axes have been found might point to a village site? If true, we can project different family units living throughout the vicinity because of where these types of artifacts have been found.

The local population would have known of each other and no doubt intermingled at times. It is possible that footpaths linked the different villages. Based on the fresh water springs and artifacts, small hamlets may have been located on the East, Altizer, Churchville, Ashby, and Cave Spring properties, as well as near the mound. Again, these are simply theories.

As noted, numerous stone points and flakes have been found close to Lone Fountain near where McKittrick's Branch crosses Jerusalem Chapel Road. Local residents today feel an Indian village existed in that area. It may also have been a site where a particular stone outcropping provided stone for points and axe heads.

It is not known if the natives who lived in this area were affiliated with any known tribes of later years. Certainly small family groups were likely not considered tribes. They may have just been loosely organized bands of indigenous persons living in small areas. Groups may have had a common or similar language. They likely had some knowledge of only a few others groups similar to them and must have had a means of communication. They had some interaction with others groups farther away because shell fragments only known to exist on the eastern shore were found in the burial mound, pointing to some trade.

Had they traveled east from the mound area through a pass in the hills, where U.S. Rt. 250 is located now, they would have entered the flat area known locally as Jake's Flat.



The fact that the mound existed for hundreds of years shows they must have interacted and mingled and merged, had children, and lived out their lives. Evidence says they lived near the mound. Other people in other local hamlets must have visited the mound on special occasions such as for burials, or perhaps to visit others natives, or for ceremonies.

It is not known why or how the native population disappeared. Some ideas are that cold weather from the Little Ice Age (C.E. 1400 to 1800) affected them, causing years of cold and dry seasons. It must have had a serious impact on animals and plants needed for food. Maybe a disease was introduced by other natives passing through the area. Maybe rival aggressive natives arrived and wiped them out. Maybe birth rates were low or infant death was high. And maybe they did not leave at all. Maybe the population just shrank until there were no more. There was no one left to bury the last person. It's speculation. It may be interesting to attempt to extract DNA from the remains to see if these early valley residents can tell us more about their origin, or even about their descendants. DNA tracing could be a worthy project for a researcher.

Stone artifacts found in the area

Last Page

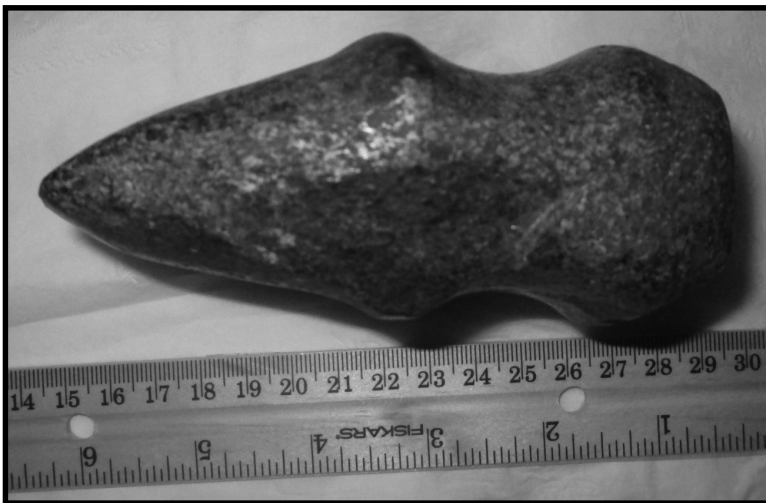
We know less about these indigenous people than we would like,



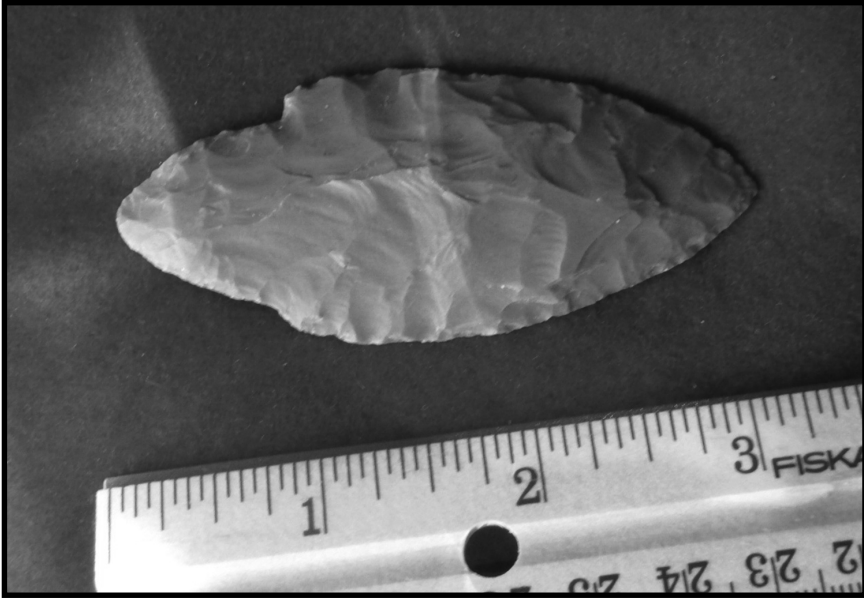
Stone point found along Rt. 42/Buffalo Gap Highway just outside the village limits. (Halterman collection)



This stone axe head was found alongside Va. 42/ Buffalo Gap Highway inside the Churchville village limits. (John Halterman Jr. collection)



Top view of stone axe head. (Halterman collection)



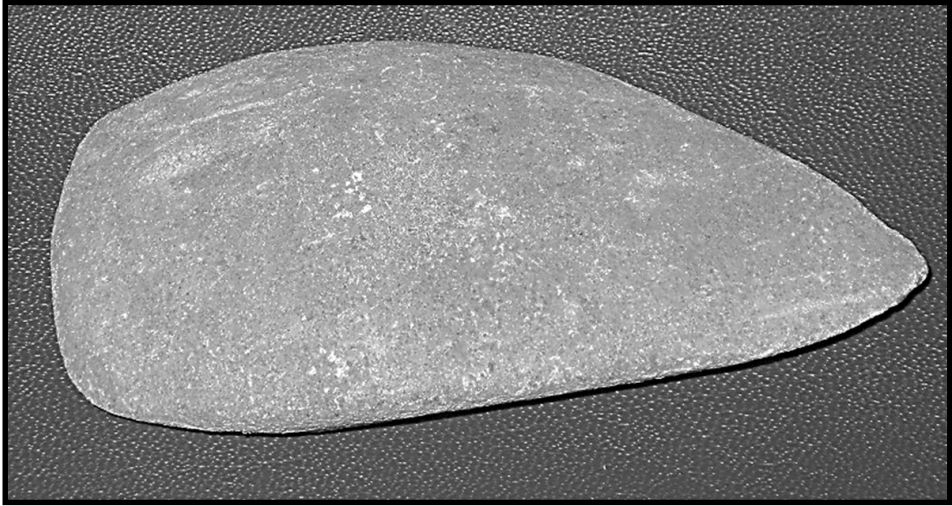
Stone point found just west of Cave Spring near the junction of Middle River and Dry Branch and near the old Keller stone house/fort. (Gordon Barlow collection)



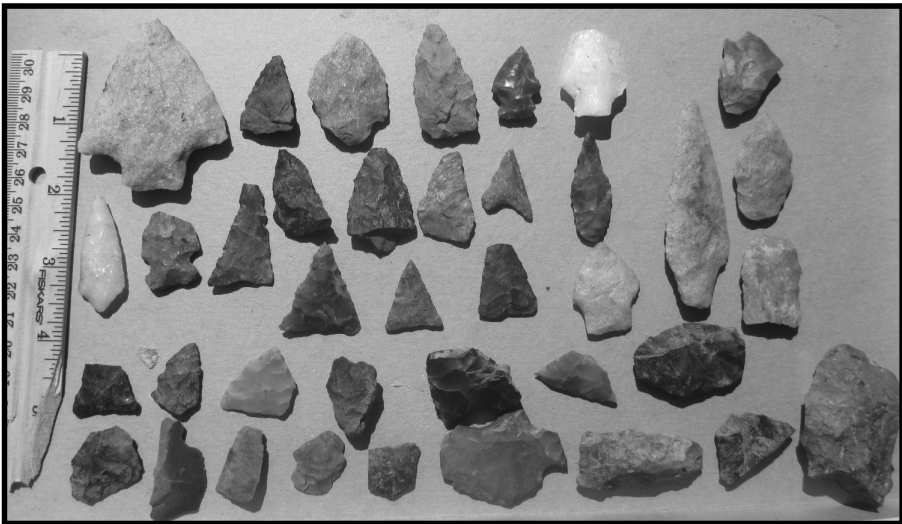
Projectile points and chips found on the Robert F. Driver farm on Rt. 42/Scenic Highway north of Churchville. (Driver collection)



Stone bowl (side, bottom, and top views) found by Robert F. Driver at Stribling Springs. The stone bowl was likely used for grinding seeds and other foods. It apparently was used until the bottom became thin, eventually breaking. (Driver collection)



This possible tomahawk head was found by Bill Moyer at Cave Spring. Moyer also found stone points on his farm on Va. Rt. 42/Scenic Highway near Stover's Shop and adjacent to the Robert Driver farm. (Moyer collection)



These stone points were found on the John East farm in various pastures. Large point at top left is said to be the oldest. Bottom two rows are flakes and fragments. (East collection)



Broken points found on the John East farm near the Middle River bridge by Bobby C. Linkous. On the right is a quartz crystal. (Linkous collection)



Artifacts found on the Ashby property not far from the springs. (Ashby collection)

but perhaps we can make some educated guesses.

—We know the site of the mound might have represented a central location for the indigenous population.

—From the age of the mound, we know there was a population in the area about one thousand years ago that stayed for a minimum of three hundred years.



- We know they held some belief about burial of human remains, because so many skeletons and partial skeletons were found in the mound digs.
- We know they used bows and arrows and were apparently quite skilled at making stone points and tools for arrows, spears, knives, scrapers, and axes.
- We know they left numerous stone artifacts throughout the vicinity.
- We can be certain that they traveled all around the Churchville area and up and down the three streams. Artifacts prove that.
- We know they must not have had much pottery capability because only a few pottery shards were recovered from the burial mound, at Churchville Cave, and on the Ashby farm.
- From a few items found in the mound, we know that there was some degree of trade with other people, although it may have been infrequent.
- We don't know from where they came. They were probably some of the nomads who first entered the valley thousands of years prior to settlement in this area.
- We don't know where they went. They may have not gone anywhere and just ceased to exist for some unknown reason.
- Whatever their personal history and life, they left materials and a story that permits us to remember them today, and to wonder.

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History of Churchville, Va.

By The Churchville Woman's Club, 1932

Editor's note: The program for the March 1932 meeting of the Churchville Woman's Club was on the history of Churchville, and it proved so interesting that the group decided to have it printed. Most of the history was gathered from the older citizens of the village and neighborhood, except that of the churches—of which there are records.

This document was typed verbatim from an original copy of the HISTORY OF CHURCHVILLE. (Virginia) originally owned by Mrs. Stella Stuart. All punctuation, including paragraph breaks, was followed carefully. Every word of the booklet is included here to provide an accurate copy. The original members of the Churchville Woman's Club are to be commended for preparing this information while the knowledge was still known to the people of that time.

The book contains a map titled "Plan of Churchville Village," by Jed. Hotchkiss, T. E. 1884. Shown are the major roads, creeks, and homes of the early village residents with the residents' names beside those homes. (Transcriber Donald W. Houser Jr.)

The *History of Augusta County* by J. Lewis Peyton, 1882, describes Churchville thus:

"Churchville is situated on the Jennings Gap Road 7 miles from Staunton, and has a population of 245; three stores, four churches, a fine graded school, two resident physicians, an organ factory, smithy, and a large flouring mill. It is an enterprising and prosperous village, situated in the fertile and lovely valley of Jennings Branch."

In "The Life of Bishop Glossbrenner" published in 1889, we find:

"Churchville assumed the character of a village about 1830 and in 1847 attained the rank of a post office village. It still remains a small hamlet sequestered amid lofty hills. In plain view about it are bold heights and the outlines of mountain ranges. It is the trading center of the broken and romantic country about it. It owed its name to the fact that two churches were located there at an early date. More lately the churches have been increased to four, not including a small meeting-house occupied by the colored people.



"By the village flows a stream, known as Jennings Branch which gave its name to the place before a village name was necessary."

Jennings Gap and Jennings Branch got their names from an early settler by the name of Jennings who lived at the Gap.

Beaver Dam got its name from the fact that "when there were woods all around here the beavers built a dam," above the village on Jennings Branch.

The population is now about 300.

There are four churches, two large school buildings—one for the grades and one for the high school—bank, town hall, four stores, post office, drugstore, meat shop, two garages, blacksmith shop, lunch room, barber shop, planing mill, and a funeral home.

Green Hill Cemetery

On a beautiful hill top about a mile south of the village lays Green Hill Cemetery—a spot which to many of us is most hallowed.

Just below it, on the north side, stands a lone pine tree, tall, sturdy, and storm beaten, which has kept silent watch through the years. A visiting minister, nearly forty years ago, in speaking of a visit which he had just made to this cemetery, referred to it as "up beyond yon waving pine."

The cemetery had been in a bad state of neglect until about 1919 when the Community Club—the name under which the ladies worked after the Red Cross was disbanded—had it improved and planted a number of evergreen and Norway maple trees.

In May, 1929, some of the ladies of the village and neighborhood organized the Churchville Woman's Club which had for its main object the improvement and beautifying of the cemetery.

A rock wall was planned and part of it with the entrance and double iron gates have been put up at a cost of nearly \$1,000. On account of lack of funds the wall has not been finished, but the committee hopes and expects to see it completed in the near future.

Churchville History

(Mr. T. F. Shuey)

To give Churchville a proper setting I must begin with an account of the first wagon road west of Staunton over the mountain. Owing to the easy grade, this road passed through Jennings Gap in preference to another route. It followed the line of the present Churchville Pike until it reached Middle River, near the present bridge. Then it went up the



river to a wide fordable point; thence through the woods and along the line between what were afterwards known as the farms of Ephraim Geeding and David Sieg and later as the lands of Tichenor and Marshall; thence northwest down the hollow north of Green Hill Cemetery; and then going north over what became in time a deep gully by the house were Mr. John Sandy now lives. The road then crossed Castle Creek and going due west passing the later Sterrett home, now the Cease property, to the front of Mr. Stover's present residence turned northwest and struck the Churchville-Jennings Gap road of today at a point opposite Floral Hill, where in my youth the Glossbrenners dwelt, and thereafter the Lichlitters. This point is fully a mile west of Churchville. Remember this road through the mountain was opened more than a hundred years before Churchville became a village large enough to have a post office which I understand did not take place until 1846.

It would be interesting to know at what date the two brick churches were built in a beautiful oak grove on the south bank of Jennings Branch. The two graveyards adjoining the churches lead to the conclusion that there was no thought at the time that these houses of worship would one day be in the center of a thriving village; and this view is strengthened by the fact that on the eastern end of the lower graveyard was set apart for colored people, although no vestige of it now remains.

When I first saw Churchville the two stores chiefly impressed me. The one on the site of Mrs. Hughes' was kept by Bell and Dinkle, and the one opposite by Tom Lindsay. West of Lindsay's store, just south of the place where the Tip Top store now stands, there were two one-story log houses. On this site Lindsay's brother subsequently erected a frame store building, which in time was destroyed by fire. The most pretentious residence in the village was that of Dr. Joseph Wilson, still standing and still in the Wilson family; and there has been less change on the north side of the street, between the Wilson house and the corner post office, than in any other part of the village. In that space John B. Quidore lived and was the postmaster for many years.

At the western end of the village there was a frame building in which Isaac Craver, Miss Cora's grandfather, lived; a little farther east Gideon Smith lived in a frame house still standing, and there his daughter, Mrs. Baylor, passed her days. Just east of this house the beautiful Methodist parsonage was afterwards built, and for the first time Churchville had a resident minister of the gospel. The first occupant of



the parsonage was Rev. Mr. Tebbs, and then Rev. Mr. Arnold. But there were mainly log houses in Churchville, some of which were two stories in height. A frame house stood, as it still stands, east of the present Ashby-Connell store, and William Euritt, who had married a Miss Dudley, lived there. Farther east, also on the south side, there was a shoemaker's shop in a log house, at which elections were held, the election officer, who cried aloud the name of a voter and the ticket he voted, being seated outside the building on a raised platform.

The stage brought mail to Churchville three times a week and then proceeded to Stribling Springs and farther west over the Warm Springs road. The stage followed the road by Cochran's Mill, the mill now in the J. T. Bear's family. Addison Cochran was the one large slave owner in Churchville, or its vicinity. He built a large brick house near his mill which the villagers styled Cochran's Folly. After his death his estate became bankrupt and the family moved to the holdings on Buffalo Branch which Cochran had bought from John Trimble. There the slaves were sold and there the family lived until after the close of the Civil War. It is now Wallace Blair's farm, minus the part subsequently acquired by William Jordan, Mr. Stickley, and the Union Apple Company.

Addison Cochran's home at Churchville was named Loch Willow, and there, after the Cochrans moved away, John G. Stover, who had married a daughter of Squire Huff, conducted a high school. Then Major Jed Hotchkiss moved his Mossy Creek Academy to Loch Willow and had a successful career until the War broke out in 1861. He was from Binghamton, New York, and one of his lady teachers brought from New York, was married to one of the outstanding bachelors of Churchville, Frank Sterrett.

I intended to mention the house where W. T. Bear now lives, to refer to the community spirit which has ever characterized Churchville to its well being, and to note the fact that there was never anything akin to a liquor saloon in the village, but already my paper is too long.

Churchville History **(Mr. J. E. Diamond)**

Churchville evidently obtained its name from having, early in the past century, two churches, the Methodist and the Lutheran church buildings in what must have been then a sparsely settled community. Lying on the main stage road from Staunton to the western counties we imagine the mere fact of its having two brick buildings for public worship, when such substantial



places in which religious gatherings were held were somewhat sparse, and being so close to one another gave it the name of Churchville.

Just how old the original church buildings were I am not able to say, but from the inscriptions on many of the gravestones in the adjoining graveyards the first church buildings must have been built when there were but few dwellings about.

In fact, one would judge the village grew around the churches but when I first remember we had not only the two old churches of which we have spoken but two others, the Presbyterian and the United Brethren churches, and also a Negro church in the lower end of the village. But long before the building of these churches it had gotten its name of Churchville.

And I am failing to mention another place of worship known as the "Prayer Meeting House"—a small frame building situated just north of and to the rear of the present U.B. Parsonage [Editor's note: This would be the United Brethren that eventually merged with the Methodist Church to become the United Methodist Church], evidently built for the convenience of some of the older people at the upper end of the village, and in which buildings regular weekly prayer service was held. This building was on the east side of the public road which at that time ran from the main highway, towards Parnassus, leaving the Staunton-Monterey road just east of Mr. Terry Hoover's residence, which residence was at that time the U.B. Parsonage.

Opposite the U.B. Parsonage "Uncle John" and "Aunt Sallie" Smith lived. "Uncle John" with a tremendously heavy bass voice of which he was inordinately proud, and "Aunt Sallie" a very religiously inclined old lady who often offered prayer in the little meeting house just spoken of.

Next to them lived "Uncle Davy" Jackson and his good wife, "Aunt Eliza", both of whom were attendants at the little meeting house.

Then came "Uncle Gid" Smith, an austere, tight-fisted old man, just in his dealings and religious in spirit, who was also a regular attendant at the little chapel, and who as I remember, did most to keep the little place of worship in repair.

All of these who are mentioned were old, very old, which probably accounts for the erection of this little chapel, though the chapel itself at my earliest recollection, was somewhat old too. Not only these devout old people gathered there to worship, but many of the younger generation gathered with them in more or less of reverent spirit.



The E. V. Stoutamyer residence, while being owned in my early childhood by Mrs. Dunlap was at that time referred to as "the Methodist Parsonage." And Miss Annie Wilson's present home was often called by the older citizens as Dr. Wilson's place.

South of Dr. Wilson's place and on the opposite of the road, as we called it then—we say street now—almost on the same site as Mrs. M. P. Jones' house, stood the Bob Knowles house, an old story-and-a-half log house, the oldest house in the village, I was told. This house was torn down, as I remember it and the logs used to build a house on the opposite side of the road from Jim Helmick's house, for Uncle John Woodson, an old colored man whose wife, Aunt Jane lost her life when the house was burned some years later.

Next, on the same side was Bishop Glossbrenner's home—the present Campbell home. I recall very distinctly the Bishop, of whom I stood in great awe and considerable fear. And I recall that at his death, which occurred during the night, the U.B. bell was tolled for some minutes.

Except for improvements there have been few changes on the opposite side of the street except that Mrs. Dudley's house which when I first remember had three or four dormer windows facing the street. All the second story of this was burnt—the first fire that I remember in the village, though not so very many years before there was a building burned on, or about, the present site of the Top Tip store.

In those days we had two merchants, Captain H.H. Hanger and J.A.J. Funkhouser, brothers-in-law; a blacksmith, W. J. Euritt, who was known far and wide as an excellent workman and thoroughly honest man.

The little boys in the village then did what we thought was quite a little business in gathering up old horse shoes and whatever other iron we could get to sell to Mr. Euritt. At that time all horse shoes and other iron was forged in the shop on the anvil. There were always at least two men in the shop, the smith and what he called his striker, who usually was either a husky hired man or an apprentice learning the trade.

There were two wagon-makers: B.H. Lickliter who conducted his shop in an old log building just back of the present Hughes' store and on the opposite side of the road leading to the J.T. Bear mill; the other conducted by T.J. Diamond in an old log building situated on the Dr. Stone property.

On the south side of the Staunton road there were no houses (that is towards Staunton) where Carl Mullenax now lives, except the three-



room school house (which was a dandy then) and an old house where Mrs. J. W. Euritt now lives, save some Negro cabins and the Negro church which stood just at the entrance of the drive up to the Hiner property.

On the opposite side there were the churches, the Funkhouser House, and a house on the present site of Mrs. Lange's house.

Aside from the blacksmith and the wagon maker there was something of a woolen mill and grist mill conducted by Christian Bear at the present Bear Bros. Shop site. Every farmer took his wool there to be made into "bats" to be used in comforts; or after being run into bats, to be cut up into sections of the size of one's finger, these to be spun into yarn to be used by the good housewives of that day in knitting hose for the family.

There, too, was the present J.T. Bear mill—a flour and grist mill—conducted by another Christian Bear – Little Chris, as he was known.

I was about to forget the shoe making industry. We then had the shoemaker who would "take your measure" and make you a pair of shoes that would actually fit, except they were almost always about half an inch too short. The shoe shops—sometimes we had two—stood between the present Hughes' store and the Lutheran church.

There were two doctors: Dr. Davies, who lived where Mr. Sandy now lives, and who left us to move west; and Dr. J.S. Blair, who lived where Miss Cora Craver now lives and who spent his life among us ministering to our ills.

Next to Dr. Blair and in the house now owned by Mr. Armstrong lived Mrs. Betsey Knowles, an old lady who usually kept several boarders, and from whom in summer time I gladly received the magnificent sum of 15 cents per week for piloting her cow to and from pasture.

With the exception of the Manse occupied then by the Rev. Mr. Moffett; the W. T. Bear house, then his grandfather's ("old man Christley") who conducted the wool mill and grist mill of which we have spoken; and the George M. Bear house, now owned by his son Robert; there were no houses beyond the Presbyterian church to Mr. Cease's residence, then known as the old Sterrett place. So you see our little village has at least grown some within these years.

While the following occurred long years before my earliest recollection, perhaps it would be of interest to mention that the house now owned by Mrs. Sallie Brown at one time was used as a school, conducted by J.G. Stover who lived in the house now owned by Rev. Brown, and



many of the older residents of our community will recall a one-story extension to the building used as a dormitory for some of the students, while many others boarded about among the farmers of the neighborhood.

Afterward, Capt. H.L. Hoover conducted a school here and lived where Mr. V.B. Stuart now lives. For some reason—so I have been told by some of those old school boys—the place became known among them as Poverty Hill.

Of more interest, perhaps, we should relate that two brothers from New York came to Churchville some few years before the Civil War; the one Jed Hotchkiss established a school for boys in a building on the Harvey Fry farm that Wm. Skelton now lives on. Nelson Hotchkiss' wife established a school for young ladies in the old Loch Willow mansion which stood west of and to the rear of the house now owned by J. W. Hevener some four hundred yards from the site of the Jed Hotchkiss school. Some of our older people attended either the one or the other of these schools.

It is not so much to call your attention to these schools that I mention them, as to remind you that this same Jed Hotchkiss became Stonewall Jackson's Chief Engineer, and later became one of the foremost metallurgists of the south, a man known and loved as Major Jed Hotchkiss.

It might also be mentioned that in the old Methodist churchyard the cavalry company known as the Churchville Cavalry was mustered into the service of the Confederate States. I believe Capt. Sterrett was the commander at that time, afterwards Captain Jos. A. Wilson was commander and late in the war Capt. H. H. Hanger succeeded in command.

At the time of the muster, I am told, one of our citizens who was rather older than some other members of the Company, went among these younger men saying: "Young men, just watch your old dad," and this sobriquet lived with him. Ever after he was known as Dad rather than by his given name.

A brief historical sketch of the United Brethren Church at Churchville (Rev. A. J. Secrist)

The first "Prayer Meeting House" in Churchville was dedicated in 1834 by Bishop William Brown. The present Church was built under the pastorate of Rev. J. E. Whitesell and was dedicated in 1878 by Bishop Warner. Three Annual Conferences were held in Churchville, one in 1834, in 1891 and the other in 1901.

The pastors who have served this Church in order from 1833 are as follows:

J.J. Glossbrenner	1833
G. Rimel	1834
J. Houck and P. Whitesell	1835
P. Whitesell and D. S. Spessard	1836
W. R. Coursey and G. A. Shuey	1837
W. V. McCabe and W. Edwards	1838
J. B. Houck	1839-1841
W. R. Coursey and Z. W. Zahn	1842
J. Baer and J. E. Bowersox	1843
J. J. Glossbrenner and J. Gibbons	1844
J. J. Glossbrenner and J. W. Miles	1845
J. Ruebush and R. Nihiser	1846-1847
W. Knott	1848
J. Bachtel	1849-1850
D. S. Spessard	1851
J. Ruebush	1852
J. W. Fulkerson	1853-1854
I. K. Statton	1856-1858
T. F. Brashear	1859-1860
C. B. Hammack	1861-1863
H. A. Bovey	1864-1866
J. W. Kiracofe	1867
J. W. Hott	1868-1870
J. L. Grim	1871-1872
W. O. Grim	1873-1874
J. E. Whitesell	1875-1878
A. M. Evers	1879-1881
C. W. Stinespring	1882-1883
J. W. Hicks	1884
S. K. Wine	1885-1886
J. E. B. Rice	1887-1889
G. W. Statton	1890
W. H. Sampsell	1891-1893
A. S. Hammack	1894-1895
A. J. Secrist	1896-1897
W. O. Ewing	1899-1900

G. B. Fadeley	1901-1908
A. P. Sallaz	1909
J. W. Maiden	1910-1911
J. H. Ford	1912-1914
D. G. Brimlow	1915
A. J. Secrist	1916-1921
R. N. Young	1922
L. A. Racey	1923-1924
G. B. Fadeley	1925-1927
O. W. Fisher	1928-1934
E. B. Caplinger	1935-

To Bishop Glossbrenner, more than anyone else is given the credit of preserving the United Brethren Church in Virginia during the Civil War. Even though the Church was opposed to slavery he stood by the work to the last.

Loch Willow

(Rev. W. C. White, D.D.)

At a meeting of Lexington Presbytery held at Bethel Church on September 19th 1866, a petition from certain citizens of Churchville and vicinity was presented praying that a church might be organized by the Presbytery at that place—and authorizing Mr. Benajah Walters to represent the prayer of the petitioners before Presbytery.

The proposed organization being within the bounds of Union Church and most of the petitioners—who were professors of religion—being members of Hebron Church the whole subject was referred to a committee consisting of the pastors of the neighboring churches; vis.: Rev. R.C. Walker pastor of Union, Rev. Thomas L. Preston, pastor of Hebron, and Rev. W. E. Baker pastor of Staunton (1st) Church, and that they nominate a committee to consider and report on said committee.

The pastors named the following who were appointed: Rev. D.C. Irwin, Rev. W. H. Ruffner, and Rev. E. D. Junkin; and Elders W. M. McCutchan and J. Horn.

The committee to whom the application of the people of Churchville for a church organization was referred to find the application signed by sixty-seven persons—forty of whom were members of the Presbyterian and other churches, i.e. eighteen to Hebron Church, eleven to Union, six to Staunton and five to other denominations.

These represented thirty-four families, in twenty-one of which there

are one or more professors of religion and thirteen non-professors who would yet be supporters of the proposed organization. This was carefully considered pro and con by the special committee and this committee brought in a recommendation, after writing out a lengthy report and considering carefully many arguments for and against the organization, that a committee of three ministers and two elders be appointed to visit the field and study the whole question and act accordingly.

This committee was appointed as follows: Rev. John Pinkerton, Rev. W. T. Richardson, and Rev. D.C. Irwin; and Elders Matthew Pilson and Robert Black to visit Churchville as soon as possible and if the way be clear, and it shall meet the wishes of the Memorialists to organize a church at the place to be united with the Union Church as one pastoral charge for the present.

This committee met October 4th, 1866, which was Thursday, and after a sermon by Rev. D. C. Irwin at 11 o'clock determined to meet at 2:30 p.m. The committee met again at 9:00 on Friday and considered the matter and resolved to organize the church. A sermon was preached by the Rev. W. T. Richardson and a call was made for the names of all members of the church desirous of uniting with the proposed organization.

It was found that there were thirty-five to be enrolled as follows:

From the Church at Staunton:

Mr. Littleton Waddell, Sr.
Mr. B. Walters and his wife
Mrs. Elizabeth Walters
Mr. Littleton Waddell, Jr. and wife
Mrs. Waddell and Nannie E.
Mrs. Maggie E. Waddell

From the Church at Hebron:

Mr. James Wilson and his wife
Mrs. Margaret H. Wilson
Mr. George W. Wilson
Mr. James Heizer and his wife
Mrs. Sarah J. Heizer
Mr. John H. Heizer
Mr. James F. Heizer
Mr. Baxter Crawford and his wife
Mrs. Cornelia A. Crawford
Mr. Jerome H.B. Sellers and his wife

Mrs. Margaret R. Sellers

Miss M. J. Bell

Miss Rachel J. Bell

From Union Church:

Mr. Samuel Myers and his wife

Mrs. Sarah B. Myers

Mr. Christian A. Bear and his wife

Mrs. Martha J. Bear

Mr. E. V. Stover

Mrs. Caroline R. Euritt

Miss Alice Hanger

Miss M. E. Bear

Miss Lelia H. Dudley

Mrs. Martha J. Dudley

Mrs. Allie M. Sterrett

From Mossy Creek:

Mrs. Martha A. Sieg

From the Methodist E. Church

Mr. Isaac Myers and his wife

Mrs. Margaret A. Myers

On Profession of Faith:

Mr. William Waddell

Mr. F. F. Sterrett

It was then announced that the election of Elders and Deacons would be held Saturday morning at 10:30.

The following were elected:

Elders

Mr. James Wilson

Mr. James Heizer

Mr. Baxter Crawford

Mr. B. Walters

Mr. Littleton Waddell, Sr.

Deacons

Mr. J. H. Heizer

Mr. Isaac Myers

Mr. Littleton Waddell, Jr.

Mr. F. F. Sterrett

After a sermon by Rev. John Pinkerton and the installation of the

Elders-elect (who were already ordained) and the ordination and installation of the Deacons-elect—conducted by Rev. D. C. Irwin—the church was declared organized, and by a vote of the congregation the name was called Loch Willow.

Religious services were held on Friday and Saturday nights and the Lord's Supper was administered on Sunday morning by Rev. D.C. Irwin.

Rev. Patterson Fletcher was the first pastor (1867-1874). Others who followed were:

Rev. McDuff Simpson	(Oct. 8, 1875—Dec. 21, 1875)
Rev. W. T. Richardson, DD	(1875-1876, Stated Supply)
Rev. A. S. Moffett, D.D.	(1877-1880)
Rev. R. C. Walker	(1881-Jan. 1, 1882, Stated Supply)
Rev. J. H. H. Winfree	(1882-1899)
Rev. J. M. Plowden	(Dec. 3, 1899-Sept. 29, 1907)
Rev. Willlliam Chester White, D.D.	(1909-1934)
Rev. G. A. Talbott	(1934-1935, Supply)
Rev. T. A. Guiton	(1936-)

The present Presbyterian Church was built in 1871.

St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church

(Rev. Paul Sieg)

From an old Record in possession of St. Peter's congregation it is evident that there was a group of Lutherans and Reformed worshipping in a building known as the Branch Meeting House as early as 1790. The first official act recorded is that of a baptism in that year. Other baptisms are recorded each year thereafter. In 1798 the first list of those communing appears. From 1801 these lists of the communicants appear at regular intervals.

From the records in the clerk's office we find that in 1805, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, as the Reformed were designated in legal matters, were deeded the lot on which the Branch Meeting House was located by one Ludwig Smith for the sum of one dollar. We find in the body of the deed that there was also a school house and a burying ground on the lot. Jacob Foreman, Jacob Eccord, and Jeremiah Runkle were the Trustees. This Meeting House, therefore, became the first Lutheran church of Churchville and was doubtless the first church built here. Before the purchase by the Lutherans and Reformed it was probably used by all denominations represented in the community. The very name would indicate that it was a sort of community church.



The first appearance of the name of an officiating minister in this record occurs in 1834. In that year the Rev. J. Brown, a Reformed minister, installed officers for the two groups. For the Lutherans, Paul Sieg and David Cook were the Elders and Lewis Haroff and Emanuel Rudibush, the Deacons. For the Reformed Samuel Keller and Peter Huffman were Elders, and Lewis Keller and Jacob Siffart, Deacons. It seems that such acts were performed for both congregations by either pastor.

We find that from 1837 until 1845 that Mt. Tabor and St. Peter's were served by the same pastor, the Rev. D. F. Bittle. It is reasonable to infer that such an arrangement had obtained earlier. From the records of Mt. Tabor we find that the Rev. A. Spindle served that congregation from 1785-1820, the Rev. M Meyerhoeffer from 1823-1832, the Rev. Augustus Babb from 1833-1837, the beginning of the pastorate of the Rev. D. F. Bittle. The fact that Paul Sieg, an Elder of St. Peter's congregation, named one of his children Augustus Babb would indicate that the said Augustus Babb must have been his beloved and respected pastor.

The other pastors serving St. Peter's congregation are: the Revs. D. F. Bittle, Peter Shickel, J. B. Davis, J. M. Shreckhise, J. B. Davis, W. S. McClanahan, J. F. Miller, M. R. Minnich, J. M. Hedrick, Christian Beard, James Willis, B. S. Brown, H. E. Bailey, Peter Miller, George E. Shuey, W. W. J. Ritchie, J. M. Tise, W. P. Huddle, A. J. Shumate, Paul Sieg, A. J. Shumate.

It is not known when the Branch Meeting House was replaced by the old brick church, which was torn down in 1921 to give place to the present structure. As the records were better kept from the time of Dr. Bittle's pastorate it must antedate that for it is not mentioned by him or his successors.

St. James Methodist Church

Philip Haines and wife conveyed unto Amos Crosby, James McNair, Anthony Fisher, Jacob Smith, Christian Beam, and John Roudabush, Trustees, a certain lot or parcel of land containing 1 and 1/6 acres.

This property was conveyed for the joint use of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the United Brethren Church in Christ, to be used jointly as a place of worship having been designated as St. James Meeting House. The deed was dated May 20, 1826.

It was used by the two denominations for fifty-one years and then the United Brethren sold their half interest to the Methodists for \$500. This deed was made July 20, 1877.

Churchville was made a circuit in 1850 and the first pastor was

Rev. Phillip D. Rescork (born in Cornwall, England).

Then came:

James H. March 1852)

Thomas Hildebrand (1854)

..... Wirgman (1856)

*Fonshee C. Tebbs (1858)

*First to live in the parsonage— now the E. V. Stoutamyer house.

..... Arnold (.....)

Thomas Hildebrand (1863)

A. A. P. Neel (1867)

**Joseph J. Engle (1863)

**Associated with him was Geo. R. Jefferson.

Alfred A. Eskridge (1872)

John W. Wolfe (1873)

*John F. Liggett (1875)

* A few weeks only.

** William H. Wilson (1876)

*With G. T. D. Collins as junior

*** S. R. Snapp (1878)

*** With G. D. Homan his junior

William K. Marshall (1880)

W. P. Coe (1881)

G. T. D. Collins (1882)

H. A. Brown (1883)

Thomas M. Jones (1886)

W. D. Ross (1887)

H. M. Roane (1888)

J. H. Temple (1890)

A. C. McNeer (1892)

J. J. Crickenberger (1895)

J. W. Canter (1898)

P. E. Magann (1901)

H. A. Wilson ()

Frazier Furr ()

C. E. Simmons ()

J. W. McNiel (1910)

J. Kyle Gilbert (1914)

H. B. Alexander (1915)

A. L. Harnsberger	(1916)
W. P. Weikle	(1919)
G. D. Kidder	(1923)
L. H. Smallwood	(1926)
W. J. Groah	(1927)
B. F. Wright	(1929)
P. H. Groseclose	(1931)
H. C. Rickard	(1933)
C. T. Collyer	(1935)

The old church was torn down in June 1923 and the new one was dedicated by Bishop U. V. W. Darlington on Oct. 12, 1924.

**Mr. Jas. E. Hanger who invented the Hanger Artificial Limb
(By his niece Mrs. T. R. Steele)**

Mr. Hanger was 18 years old when the War Between the States broke out. He made every effort to enlist but was always refused because of his youth. Thinking he would stand a better chance of getting in if he would work his way into the fighting area—at which time West Virginia was one—he joined a food ambulance corps carrying supplies from Staunton to West Virginia.

When they reached Philippi, late one evening, they climbed into a hay mow of a stable to spend the night. Early next morning, as the sun was “just peeping over the hills”, they heard firing and as Mr. Hanger swung his limb down, preparing to jump down from the loft, a cannon ball, fired by an Ohio skirmishing party, shot it off.

That ball was one of my earliest recollections. It lay in my mother’s parlor during all my childhood, and seemed to me as large as a man’s head—in reality—it was about the size of a grapefruit.

He crawled back into the hay mow and lay there all day. Late in the afternoon his limb was amputated by a surgeon belonging to the troop that had fired the cannon. A stable door was taken from the hinges and he was laid on it, and the operation was performed without an anesthetic—on account of being too weak from loss of blood. He was the first man in the war to lose a limb.

In a short time some relatives—the Hites—heard of it and had him moved to their home not far away. The Hites wrote letter after letter to his mother and sisters but they were not received and their suspense was terrible.

When at last he was brought back to his mother his great desire was to have a room entirely to himself. No one was to enter for any



purpose whatever—he was even willing to clean and care for it rather than be disturbed. While still on his sick bed he had formed a plan, which could only be carried out—so he felt—in this way. Of course, his mother gladly consented to any proposition he made.

He procured some lumber that he thought suitable for his purpose, and for three months, upstairs alone, he whittled and worked, and worked and whittled—no one dreaming what he was about.

At the end of that time he walked downstairs on his first artificial limb!

From that crude beginning later developed the limb which for many years was the only one recognized by our government as a standard limb.

He fitted disabled soldiers of every war our country had known since 1864. After the great world war the governments of both France and England accepted his bid for fitting their disabled solders and he established factories in both of those countries.

Surely there was never a stronger demonstration of the truth of the old saying, "Tis an ill wind that blows nobody any good." By one man's affliction hundreds, nay thousands of helpless, crippled people were made into active, useful citizens.

I remember so well hearing him speak of his living advertisement in Washington. An old Negro who had lost both limbs above the knee, had for years, spent his days on a street corner near the capitol begging. Mr. Hanger took him to his shop, fitted him with limbs and paid him to stand on the same corner showing what had been done for him. Later, he secured him as janitor and he went up and down stairs as nimbly as you please.

He [Hanger] married Miss Nora McCarthy of Richmond and reared a large family. All of his sons are engaged in the business of manufacturing artificial limbs. They are located in different cities of the United States.

Miscellaneous items

It is said that Jennings Branch at one time flowed down through what is now the village—through the Stoutamyer, Fry, Jones, Presbyter-ian Church and the F. A. and W. T. Bear properties. Much evidence of this is found in the "creek rock" on some of the land and there are people in the village who were told by Mr. "Rude" Smith that his father remembered when the creek ran there.

His father also remembered seeing Indians and wolves around here. A man in the neighborhood has a collection of Indian arrow heads.



Until within the last few years there was an old Indian fort (a mile or so beyond the cemetery) over on Middle River. The grandfather of a woman now living in the county lived at the fort at one time. On a beautiful Easter Sunday morning he and his family walked out for a little while as they had seen no Indians around for some time, but had only gone a short distance until they saw Indians in hiding. The father knew that if they all tried to get back to the house they would all be killed, so he sent the wife and children ahead and after they were safely in the house he started, and was killed on the way as he knew he would be.

Mr. J. T. Bear had a couple of old deeds in which Whiskey Creek was called "Castle Creek" and Mr. Shuey calls it that in his paper—said to have gotten its name from a big rock up near the D. S. Baylor spring which was said to look like a castle.

Mr. W. A. Rife, who invented the hydraulic ram, lived near Churchville. Someone saw one of the rams at work at a fair and was told by Mr. Rife that they were used all over the civilized world and in some places in Africa. Mr. Rife began making the rams in a shop at Lone Fountain, near where Mr. Will Moyers lives.

Mr. J. A. Brown's house was used at one time as a school house, organ factory, and a "place for suppers." The upstairs room was a lodge room for Good Templars, and much later for Odd Fellows.

The Sons of Temperance had an organization here and Mrs. Dudley has a large Bible of her father's which has inscribed on it, "Sons of Temperance, Churchville, Division No. 250, July, 1848."

The ladies of the W.C.T.U. and the "Earnest Workers" of the Presbyterian Church raised money and bought the lot on which the Town Hall stands. It was bought off the upper end of the Methodist grove. After they bought it the Odd Fellows offered to build the hall if the ladies would deed the lot to them—the upper room to be used as their lodge room, and the downstairs for the public. It was built in ____.

The organ factory was in the charge of Mr. J. A. Lutz. The organs he made were a new invention, having a transposing stop which was moved as the key was changed and all music was played on the white keys. Mr. H. B. Sieg, Captain H. H. Hanger, Mr. J. H. Stover, Mr. G. M. Bear and Mr. John Roudabush were stockholders and when the "factory" broke up they had to take organs.

A Mr. Arbogast had a photograph gallery in the store building that burnt down a few years ago. Mr. Kidd says he had his "picture taken" there when a small boy.



Mrs. Dudley's father—Mr. J. B. Quidore—came from New York and for many years was a merchant here. He built the original part of what is now Hughes store, though he had a store in a room of his house first. He was the first Post Master and for many years the only one; then followed Mr. Jas. Rush, Mr. Granville Hoff, M. C. L. Wilson, and for many years Mrs. Dudley has been Post Mistress in the same room her father had kept the Post Office.

Churchville has sent out ministers, missionaries, has had a Bishop, an "Official Reporter of the Senate" for 65 years, captains in the Civil War, doctors, lawyer, dentist, many teachers, stenographers, nurses, bookkeepers, Government employees, engineers, County Superintendent of Schools, bank employees, electricians, etc.

The merchants, so far as can be learned, down to the present, have been: Bell and Dinkle, Mr. J. B. Quidor, Mr. Adam Link, Mr. Baskins, Mr. Thomas Lindsay, Mr. George Hanger, Mr. Littleton Waddell, Mr. Giles, Capt. H. H. Hanger, Mr. J. A. J. Funkhouser, D. Myers & Co (C.L. Wilson, Manager), Mr. W. E. Hughes, Mr. W. A. Bixler, Wheeler & Brown, B. W. Jones, Turner Ashby & Sons, "Tip Top" (W. G. Blair, manager), and Bear & Wilson.

Dr. Joseph Wilson seems to have been the first doctor who practiced in the village. He was reared in the neighborhood, and built the house in which Miss Annie Wilson—a great niece of his—now lives.

Dr. William H. Davies, an uncle of Miss Addie Sieg came here from Sangerville about 1870. He lived where Mr. John Sandy now lives but in the house Mr. Sandy tore down when he built his present one. He was here only about 10 years.

Dr. R. S. Hamilton was from this county. He built a house up on Clifton, and had a road leading up to it from both sides of the hill—the house burned down. He later owned and lived in the house Mr. Charlie Driver now owns.

Dr. J. S. Blair came from Moscow, about 1882, and practiced here for many years. He lived where Miss Cora Craver is living. He spent the rest of his life here.

Mr. M. P. Jones came from Highland County to Parnassus where he practiced a little over a year, and then to Churchville in 1893. He and Dr. Blair were in partnership for ten years.

Dr. J. B. Stone came here from Pendleton County, W. Va., about 1913 and is still in active practice.

Dr. Jos. Wilson had a son—James—who was a doctor and practiced here for awhile.



Dr. L. L. Quidor, who practiced in McDowell many years ago, was a Churchville man.

Mr. J. G. Stover had a son—Huff—who practiced here for a while. His office is still to be seen up at Mr. Robert Bear's where it was moved after Dr. Stover left.

Dr. Edward McCarthy was here for a short time.

Dr. J. S. Blair's second son—Robin—is a physician and a surgeon in Richmond, and Mr. J. H. H. Winfree had a son—John—who was a physician in Richmond.

Mr. J. H. Stover's second son, George, and his youngest son, Frank, are both physicians; the former in South Boston, and the latter at Doe Hill. Mr. Stover's oldest son, J. McNair, is a dentist and lives in South Boston.

Among the lawyers from Churchville, was Judge James Sieg, son of David Sieg, who was in the Legislature at the time of his death. He was buried in Hollywood cemetery, Richmond.

Nurses from Churchville, include Miss Cora Craver and Miss May Bear (Mrs. J. M. Harris).

Ministers who have gone out from our village are Rev. James Bear, Sr., Rev. James Bear, Jr., Rev. Paul Sieg, Revs. Albert and Alfred Shumate, Rev. Hoover Bear, and Rev. Guy Jordan.

Missionaries: Mr. James Bear, Mr. James Bear, Jr., Miss Margaret White.

The Methodist Church was built in 1826, the Lutheran in 1850, Loch Willow in 1871 and the United Brethren in 1878.

It is said that when the Churchville Cavalry started out some of them were wearing ruffled shirts.

A Mr. Jake Bear taught school in the house where the Stuarts now live.

The Loch Willow Mansion built by Mr. Cochran had large rooms and "each one was finished in a different kind of wood."

The lady teachers Mr. Hotchkiss brought with him from New York were Miss Allie and Miss Emma Rounds—Miss Allie married Mr. Sterrett. Miss Emma never was married.

Miss Jessie Hutchinson and Miss Cammie Houston of Rockbridge taught school in a room at Mrs. Quidor's. Miss Jessie married Mr. G. M. Bear. Miss Nannie Martin, also of Rockbridge taught in the Session Room of the Presbyterian Church. She married Mr. J. T. Bear.

"The first nail mill ever set in operation in Augusta County, and it is supposed to be the first in the United States, was over on the river



near Trinity Point Mill, and was built and operated by a blacksmith named Freal.”

Capt. Jos. A. Wilson—Miss Annie’s father—was Captain of Co. I 14th Cavalry, succeeding James Cochran, and lost an arm in battle. Capt. H. H. Hanger succeeded Capt. Wilson.

The Academy of which Mr. Diamond writes, had two pupils from Richmond—Beverage—and one from Texas.

A Dr. Ritchie must have been the first physician in the neighborhood. He bought land in Jennings Gap, and the deed for it, dated 1779, is written on parchment.

Until about 1908 the road the Staunton led over the hill—going up by what is now the Gilbert home and over by the East home. There was no bridge across Middle River, or any of the streams, and the water was often too high to ford.

There was also a road that led down the branch by the Sieg place and out near Huff’s mill.

There is an old neighborhood graveyard—on what used to be the Geeding place and now owned by Mr. Allen—with a number of graves plainly seen and some stones standing, though not having a name or inscription on them. About half a dozen have inscriptions. One is a large slab that covered a grave, with the following inscription on it:

“Here lies the body
of James Armstro
ng Departed this
Life in the Twen
Ty eight year of
His eage October
The Sixth 1759”

The old school house has an interesting history also were it fully known. In the memory of some who are living it was divided into two rooms. The smaller was occupied until it was torn down as a shoe-maker shop. The larger room was used by a tinner, then for a few years as a schoolroom, then as a factory for artificial limbs, still later as storage room for various things.

History of the Sieg residences

The first Sieg who came to this community was Paul, the great grandfather of the Rev. Paul Sieg and Miss Addie Sieg. He located near the mouth of Whiskey Creek and lived in a house that stood there 100 yards



southeast of the barn on the farm of the H. B. Sieg heirs. The house was still standing, though in a very dilapidated condition, in the memory of the Rev. Paul Sieg. Paul Sieg died in 1815 and is buried in the burying ground of the old Branch Meeting House. His son, Paul, moved into the house now standing on the H.B. Sieg farm, in 1824. This house was not new then but in much better condition than the one from which he moved. The widow continued to live at the original house until her death. David Sieg, a brother of the second Paul, lived at that time in a part of the house now occupied by Miss Blanch and Mr. W. C. Gilbert.

From the construction of the chimneys in the H.B. Sieg house, the ell was evidently built first. The fireplace on the kitchen side is 8 or 10 feet in width and there is an old crane, used in cooking, still hanging in the fireplace. The comparative ages of the two houses are unknown but a conservative estimate would make them at least 150 years old.

Near the junction of Whiskey Creek with Jennings Branch stood the remains of one of the many still houses that gave the creek its name in memory of some now living.



Antique stores in the historical consciousness

By Michael Douma

Michael Douma, a professor of history at Georgetown, last published an article in the Bulletin about graffiti in Shenandoah Valley caves. About a year ago he conducted oral history interviews in Augusta County relating to antique stores and what they can tell us about the past. To read the full story, look online for Michael Douma's forthcoming article "Sorting the Past: the Social Function of Antique Stores as Centers for the Production of Local History" in the International Journal of Local and Regional History.

In the fall of 2014 and spring of 2015, I conducted interviews with antique store owners in Augusta County. My purpose was to understand how antique stores work. I discovered the critical role antique stores play in promoting local historical consciousness.

When I first began teaching American history, I looked for antiques to illustrate the stories in my lectures. Over time, I discovered antiques can be used to learn history anew, and from a new angle.

History as taught in the classroom consists of events plotted on a timeline. In a museum, we read stories ready-made by curators to explain historical objects. But at antique stores, the chaos of the past surrounds us. There are no labels and no textbooks to tell us how to interpret the odd assortments we discover in antique stores. Rather, it is at antique stores where we must figure out history on our own. This led me to the realization that antique stores are centers for the production of historical knowledge. And, over the past few years then, I have come to see the antique store as a metaphor for how we should understand history. History is infinite and infinitely complex. Out of this chaos of the past, we must choose what is worth studying. Indeed, to understand the past, we need to do more than study history, we must "do" history, by actively engaging in research. Historical research does not require a special degree. In fact, I think ev-



ery time a child asks his or her grandmother about the past, they are engaging in a form of research. Each visit to an antique store or museum is a form of personal research, designing to inform ourselves about our place in the scheme of events.

Sometimes, people make up stories to help sell an antique. Or, they perpetuate a false story that they heard from someone else. Academic historians can become frustrated with antique stores because of the messiness and uncertainty of it all. But is written history really so different? Textbooks and other dominant written historical interpretations piece together a variety of sources from the past and may perpetuate falsities just as well.

We may continue to find our history in books, or, as many of us do, we may look for it in antique stores. Unlike in museums, antique stores offer no dominant narrative. Indeed, antique stores owners and the members of the community who frequent them are responsible for working together to discover their own history. I believe antique stores are material culture libraries, places for the performance of tradition, places where we discover history, re-tell it, and even re-make it. At the antique store, the building always promotes a sense of the historic. Unlike at a thrift shop, age is a characteristic we admire at the antique store. Stories weave together objects, people, and place.



An antique store in Churchville, Va. (Photo by Michael Douma)



Book reviews

Editor's Note: The following section consists of reviews of recent books on regional and Virginia history as well as several that pertain to American history. Unless otherwise noted, these reviews are by AHB Book Review Editor and Associate Editor Daniel A. Métraux, retired Professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin College. Please send any reviews or questions about reviews to the AHB's Book Review Editor, Daniel Métraux at dmetraux@mbc.edu. The deadline for all reviews is October 1, 2016.

Civil War Leaders and Battles

Michael Korda, *The Life and Legend of Robert E. Lee*. New York: Harper, 2014. 785 pp.

Robert E. Lee continues to live on today as the secular saint of the South. He is honored across the South as a symbol of genteel dignity and honor as well as for his tactical military brilliance. He fought the good fight, but when the war was over, he led the way to reconciliation with the North. Throughout the South, but particularly in Virginia, he is remembered through many forms of memorials. Both my children are graduates of Robert E. Lee High School in Staunton. Ironically, one finds very few memorials to Lee in the North. Where I grew up in New York City there are glittering statues of Generals Sherman and Sheridan and a huge tomb for Grant.

Historian Michael Korda, a skilled and prolific writer who has written many books including a very fine biography of General U.S. Grant, has produced a very detailed study of the life of General Lee. It is clear that Korda likes and respects his subject and any great fan of Lee will come away from this book with a feeling of satisfaction. But while he describes the aura of Lee the saint, he devotes far more attention to the real man. Korda tells us that while Lee was successful in his efforts to portray himself as the honorable Southern gentleman, he like any human had his faults. Lee had a strong temper and often put too much faith in the ability of his soldiers and officers to perform virtual miracles. As a general he made his share of tactical mistakes, one of which was General Pickett's disastrous charge at Gettysburg. Korda suggests that Lee's failures in leadership at Gettysburg were key factors in the Confederate defeat.

The most interesting sections of the book deal with Lee's life before 1861. We quickly learn that Lee was very intelligent and that he worked very hard as a student. He excelled in all of his courses at West Point, especially in math. He became a brilliant engineer who constructed numerous forts, developed harbors, and most impressively, altered the course of the Mississippi River at St. Louis which allowed its subsequent growth as a



major modern river port. He was a very successful superintendent at West Point in the early 1850s. Reading these sections of Korda's book gives us a clear picture of Lee's rise as a leader. As a genuine military hero during the Mexican War, his engineering skills and raw courage as a scout going behind enemy lines played a key role in his army's victories. One learns a lot about Lee's antipathy for the institution of slavery. He did not like it, but felt that chaos would result if all slaves suddenly gained their freedom.

The years between the Mexican and Civil Wars were hard for Lee. Korda writes:

It is only fiction that soldiers miss war. Professional soldiers appreciate the fact that the risks of war are balanced out for them by the opportunity for more rapid promotion, but nobody who has made a career of the military relishes being shot at, blown up, or disabled. Lee had the kind of cold courage that every soldier envies, but as much as he chafed, over the next thirteen years of peacetime, at his lack of promotion and at the poor pay, he never had any desire to repeat his experience under fire in Mexico City. Far from finding his life at home unexciting, Lee was essentially the most domesticated of men, one who hated being separated from his wife, his children, his beloved Virginia, and the great house of Arlington that had become his home... (157)

Unfortunately, Korda spends far too much time analyzing Lee the general during the Civil War. One quickly grows tired of the endless minute details of each battle—the section on the battles of the Wilderness is over one hundred pages long. The very short section describing Lee's life after Appomattox – only twenty-four pages – is devoid of much detail. Somebody someday should study Lee's presidency at what is now Washington and Lee University. Lee was a very successful and innovative college president and his total devotion to his students won him lasting respect and affection. Sadly, Korda almost totally ignores Lee's important years at W&L.

Despite these criticisms, Korda's biography of Lee is a good read. One gets to know Lee the man because Korda takes us behind the mask. The book is well researched and written, but often too detailed and a bit repetitive.

S. C. Gwynne, *Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson*. New York: Scribner, 2014. 672 pp.

When the Civil War began many people in the North expected a short war where Federal forces would quickly demolish ragtag rebel forces, but the fierce determination of the Confederates and the brilliant leadership of its generals led them to many victories early in the war and prolonged the outcome for four long years. At the first battle of Bull Run, General Thomas J. Jackson's unflappability in the disorganized chaos of the war's first meeting of the two armies and his ability to rally Confederate troops



from a potentially disastrous retreat prompted one of the war's most famous quotes, "Yonder stands Jackson like a stone wall." Jackson's 1862 campaigns in the Shenandoah Valley brought him worldwide fame and deep respect. Jackson was a master of deception and skillful movement—his ability to hide his army, move it quickly from one corner of the Valley to another, to suddenly outflank and slaughter far larger Union forces – all these qualities made Jackson and his lieutenants the stuff of legend.

Jackson was a tough leader who drove his men very hard. He was quick to demand courts-martial for officers who failed to meticulously follow his orders and plans and he was merciless with any soldier caught deserting. His soldiers were perennially hungry, badly dressed, and exhausted from endless all-day marches, but they revered and deeply respected their general and readily followed and fought for him with tenacious vigor.

The author, S.C. Gwynn, who has written extensively on the Indians of the West and had one of his books, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, nominated for a Pulitzer Prize, has written a superb biography of Jackson. Over the years I have read many books replete with descriptions of Jackson the man, but I could never get a full read on his personality. When one visits his splendid home (now a brilliant museum) in Lexington, Virginia, one hears stories about his boring lectures at VMI and nicknames given him by students, many of whom considered him a fool. His demeanor was stiff, awkward, and he was often afflicted with digestive and other maladies. Gwynn does much to reinforce these traditional views, but we see a radical transformation in the man as he led a contingent of VMI students by horseback to Staunton in 1861 to get on a Richmond-bound train. He quickly found his talents in managing and leading his troops. He was a stoic quiet man who never revealed his emotions, but his leadership qualities were quickly apparent.

Gwynn, however, introduces us to a completely different side of Jackson's personality. He was a passionate and romantic man who loved his two wives – his first wife, Elinor Junkin, died in 1854 – and enjoyed gay and frivolous times with them. He was especially enamored with his second wife, Mary Anna Morrison, to whom he wrote deeply-felt letters that demonstrated his total devotion to her, his sheer happiness when he was with her, and his deep sense of homesickness when they were apart. Jackson loved to dance, enjoyed long hearty meals in the company of friends, and spent hours adoring his wife in their private chamber.

Gwynn also introduces us to Jackson, a strong proponent of aggressive warfare that startled his Union opponents. Despite his deep Christian inclinations, he could be blood-thirsty. When a lower-ranking officer asked him what to do, Jackson answered, "Kill them, sir. Kill every man." A few on both sides felt that Jackson was mentally deranged and his inclination to keep battle plans secret from even his top ranking officers annoyed many, but they all respected his brilliance. We also hear about Jackson's views on



a variety of issues including slavery. He was neither a proponent nor an opponent of slavery. He accepted it as a social and economic reality, but was never himself much interested in owning many slaves.

Gwynn focuses most of his book on Jackson's generalship during the war including a brilliant and very long section on the 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign. Gwynn frequently mentions Staunton as an important transportation and supply hub and depot that Jackson was determined to hold at all cost—indeed, keeping Staunton out of Union hands was one of Jackson's key objectives during this campaign. Gwynn writes in an electrifying manner that brings the battles vividly to life including the vital role that he played in defeating Union forces attacking Richmond in 1862. We hear about Jackson's many successes, but also about his occasional mistakes.

Gwynn's *Rebel Yell* is a brilliant feat of historical writing—well-researched, clearly written, and easy to read. But there are times when there is just too much detail and some needless repetition; 672 pages on two years of fighting can get very tedious. Indeed, Gwynn could have easily retained the high-detailed quality of a book 500 pages long.

John Lockwood and Charles Lockwood, *The Siege of Washington: The Untold Story of the Twelve Days that Shook the Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 320 pp.

When Confederate forces initiated the Civil War by firing on Fort Sumter (April 12-14, 1861), recently-inaugurated President Lincoln called for all states to form a new 75,000 man volunteer army to put down the rebellion. As a result of that call to arms, Virginia reversed its earlier vote against secession and voted to leave the Union. The vote was ratified by the citizens in May. The United States had a small well-trained army, but many members had resigned to join Confederate forces and most other soldiers were scattered in forts as far away as western Florida and California. The simple truth was that there were only a few hundred soldiers and able volunteers to defend the nation's capital from any Confederate attack.

Washington, D.C., was suddenly very vulnerable to outside attack. It had a comparatively small population for many families supporting both sides had already fled the city. Washington was sixty miles south of the Mason-Dixon Line in deep slaveholding territory. The only direct connection to the North was an easily severable telegraph line and a one-track rail line that connected the capital to Baltimore, a city whose mayor, top officials, and population were deeply sympathetic to the South. Lincoln was profoundly unpopular in Maryland and had received very few votes there in the 1860 election. The new Lincoln administration suddenly found itself to be a small virtually undefended island in a deep and angry sea of secessionists. There were also untold number of secessionists still in the city itself who could assist outside forces attacking the city.

Confederate leaders were well aware of the opportunity they had to



capture Washington. Capturing the nation's capital and holding President Lincoln and his cabinet hostage would bring great international prestige to the Confederacy and might force the Union to sue for a compromise peace before the fighting actually began. Jefferson Davis' wife Varina even had invitation cards printed summoning guests to a party at the White House on May 1, 1861.

Lincoln and General Winfield Scott understood the danger, but pledged to stay on. They desperately called on northern states to send as many volunteers to defend Washington as soon as possible, but there was a key bottleneck – Baltimore. Troops traveling from the north to Washington had to change trains in Baltimore, which included the need to march more than a mile from one station to another. When a contingent of Massachusetts volunteers made this march, they were violently attacked by an angry mob and suffered many casualties. The men from Boston eventually arrived in Washington, but Baltimore officials closed the stations and ripped up track making travel from Baltimore to the capital impossible. For the next twelve days Washington was paralyzed by rumors that a large force of Confederates was on the way to attack the city. Eventually by the end of April enough Union troops got to D.C. on a circuitous route to Annapolis and then by a small branch line that ran most of the way to the District to keep the city safe.

Fortunately for Lincoln, the South could never get its act together. They were organizing a new army and a new government without a clear command structure. They spent their time dithering and dithering and not getting an attack ready before it was too late. Washington was saved by the very ineptitude of its enemy.

John Lockwood, a National Mall Historian, and Charles Lockwood, an architectural historian, have composed a well-researched and highly lucid book, *The Siege of Washington*, that tells the story of the twelve days in late April of 1861, when the city was so very vulnerable. The reader can sense the panic in the city as well as both the resolve of Lincoln not to flee and the brilliant leadership of the elderly general Winfield Scott who did his best to organize the defense of the District. The authors effectively employ correspondence and archives by Lincoln's secretaries, John Nicolay and John Hay. This is a very fine read!

James M. McPherson, *Embattled Rebel: Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2014. 301 pp.

One of my most interesting evenings during my long career at Mary Baldwin College was a dinner with James M. McPherson, Professor Emeritus of History at Princeton University. McPherson had just given a short series of lectures at Mary Baldwin College. The opportunity to discuss the Civil War with one of the preeminent historians of that conflict was a fascinating experience.



One of the matters McPherson discussed is why he thought the South had lost the war. He explained that although the Confederacy had half the population of the North and only a small percentage of its industrial capacity, it had certain advantages. The war was fought on its own territory and many conflicts fought on one group's home turf is won by the: home team." The natural patriotism and enthusiasm of the Confederacy's leaders and people would also be an advantage. The South began the war with a well-armed military force led by a group of seasoned military officers while the Union had to build a new army virtually from scratch. Over time the North was able to build a substantial force that eventually wore the South down, but the Confederacy had to contend with some very weak generals, squabbling among the generals, considerable poor planning, and bad relations between President Jefferson Davis and many of his generals.

McPherson raises some of these points in his well-researched and written study of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief. Davis (1807-1889) had had a very distinguished career before 1861. He was a graduate of West Point, a veteran of the war with Mexico, secretary of war for Franklin Pierce, and a veteran senator from Mississippi. He was the obvious choice to lead the Confederacy and willingly took over the job in early 1861 despite poor health that kept him in bed for prolonged periods during the war.

McPherson reveals that although the Confederate Congress unanimously elected Davis as their president, from the very start of his presidency he was the subject of harsh and ceaseless criticism across the South. Many Southerners accused him of malice and arrogance because the war rarely went well for the Confederacy, but much of the blame for the eventual loss came from blunders by such Southern generals as P.G.T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston as well as a bad decision to have a "dispersed defense" of troops around the perimeter of the Confederacy rather than concentrating their forces into one strong army. McPherson also correctly points out that the South's position was made far worse by a huge rate of desertion by soldiers in its army.

Despite his poor relations with many of his generals, Davis did have a close relationship with Robert E. Lee that in the long run was more important than his ties to these other generals. McPherson writes:

Davis' relationship with General Robert E. Lee was one of the brightest features of his tenure as commander in chief. The president recognized Lee's ability and supported the general in the face of initial criticisms. The two men forged a relationship even closer than the one between Lincoln and Grant on the other side. And while the Lincoln-Grant team eventually won the war, his does not mean that the Davis-Lee team was responsible for losing it. For in



the final analysis, the salient truth about the American Civil War is not that the Confederacy lost but that the Union won. (252)

McPherson does an excellent job portraying the Civil War from the perspective of the Confederate White House in Richmond. We have a clear lucid text by one of the most knowledgeable historians of this traumatic era in our history. Reading this work was an informative, interesting, and quite enjoyable experience—like having dinner with the author once again.

Theodore G. Shuey, Jr., *Sunrise-Sunset: The Battle of Cedar Creek, A Civil War Novel*. Staunton: Lot's Wife Publishing, 2014. 298 pp.

The Battle of Cedar Creek, sometimes referred to as the Battle of Belle Grove, was fought near Strasburg, Virginia, on October 19, 1864. It was the pivotal point in the struggle between the Union and Confederate armies for control of the Shenandoah Valley. Control of the northern tip of the Valley was of great strategic importance for both North and South. Union forces throughout the war sought to control the Valley in order to wipe out the food supply for Lee's forces further east and to close off a potential Confederate invasion of Washington, D.C. The South sought to protect its "breadbasket," to weaken the Union army attacking Lee by diverting many of its troops away from central Virginia and Richmond, and to keep a potential invasion route open to the capital. Stonewall Jackson's brilliant Valley Campaign of 1862 had done much to thwart Union troops attempting to invade the Valley, but by 1864 Jackson was long dead and Federal forces were preparing a major invasion of the region.

By the fall of 1864 a large Union army led by Major General Philip Sheridan was trying to maneuver past a smaller Confederate force led by Lt. General Jubal Early who was tasked with saving the Valley for the South. Early, realizing that he could not win a campaign of attrition against Sheridan, decided that his best option was a surprise attack on Sheridan's overconfident and relaxed forces. Early's attack began on the morning of October 19, taking Union forces completely by surprise and routing soldiers along the front lines. Sheridan's troops began a general retreat, but they were famously met by Sheridan himself riding in from Winchester. Sheridan was able to get his troops to hold a new defensive line that not only stopped Confederate troops dead in their tracks, but led to a successful Union counterattack that devastated the enemy. Early and the remnants of his army beat a hasty retreat up the valley toward Staunton, thus ceding the northern parts of the Valley to the Union. Later that winter Sheridan defeated the remnants of Early's army in the Battle of Waynesboro, thus ending the Confederacy's hold on the Valley.

Theodore G. Shuey, Jr., author of *Ever Forward: The Story of One of the Nation's Oldest and Most Historic Military Units*, is a highly experi-



enced and widely respected military historian. His most recent work, *Sunrise-Sunset* is a very detailed study of the events leading up to the Battle of Cedar Creek, of the battle itself, and of the battle's aftermath. There is a vivid almost hour-by-hour description starting around October 13 as both armies maneuvered around each other to Early's retreat a week later. There are in-depth backgrounds of all the major figures on both sides and very detailed maps and contemporary prints that bring the battle to life.

Shuey has written an historical novel. All the events are real, but the perhaps imagined conversations between the major combatants saves the book from being a dry, boring blow-by-blow account of the fighting. It also allows us to see people like Sheridan and Early as real people with deep emotions and strengths as well as flaws.

Civil War historians and "buffs" will find great value in this tome, but there is little here to interest the casual reader. One personal complaint is the lack of detail and credit given to Vermont regiments who bore the brunt of the initial attack and who suffered huge casualties, but whose bravery and tenacity slowed the Confederates and allowed Union forces time to regroup. There is a huge mural of the battle in the main foyer of the Vermont state house in Montpelier. Shuey does present a full-page presentation on each of the 8th Vermont and 11th Vermont Infantries, but little discussion of their key role in the battle. As a Vermonter by choice for over fifty years, I feel slighted. The Civil War "buff" in me, on the other hand, found much to be interested in with this volume.

Robert L. O'Connell, *Fierce Patriot: The Tangled Lives of William Tecumseh Sherman*. New York: Random House, 2014.

Growing up in New York City in the early 1950s, my mother often took me uptown to Central Park to visit the zoo and ride the merry-go-round. As we entered the park we encountered a huge statue of General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820-1891) sculpted in 1903 by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Sherman is briskly riding a charging horse preceded by an angel like figure, an allegorical representation of Victory. My mother told me that Sherman was a great hero, that his prowess and courage as a general played a major role in saving the Union during the Civil War. It was only when I took American history courses as an undergraduate that I began to hear other views of Sherman.

Military history scholar Robert L. O'Connell has written a largely admiring study of Sherman. O'Connell divides his work into three major sections: The first and longest part looks at the military career of a precocious teenager who entered West Point in 1836 and follows him to the end of the Civil War. A shorter second section examines Sherman's relationships with his men and his abilities as a soldier and general. We learn about his men's restraint during the infamous March to the Sea through Georgia and the Carolinas. True they burned a lot of houses and farms, but the



local citizenry escaped unscathed. The final part looks at Sherman's life as a family man. He married his foster sister Ellen, had a separate career as a banker where he demonstrated great administrative skills, and had various affairs, the most poignant of which was with the famed sculptor Vinnie Ream.

O'Connell argues that Sherman's major life contribution was his role in opening the West to settlement and development after the Civil War. We had a clear image of a broad and expansive nation but saw several obstacles that had to be removed: the buffalo and the obstructive practices of the Plains Indians. He commanded troops that protected and guided the construction of the railroad across the Plains and enabled the senseless slaughtering of millions of buffalo that roamed the land. He writes that

"Sherman's central historical importance is derived from his role in the physical consolidation of transcontinental America...In 1859, the long report he had composed for his brother John on the possibility of a transcontinental railroad had generated quite a stir in Washington. Then the South seceded, and Sherman waged a four-year vendetta to knock it back into the Union, a defining experience that only intensified his yen for national spaciousness. From this point, he became Manifest Destiny's chief of operations, orchestrating the construction of the...transcontinental railroads...It was his final act, his culminating achievement, and one he felt did the country more good than his services during the Civil War." (187-188)

Sherman was a very contradictory figure whose life defied clear definition. He argued that his concept of total war actually saved many lives by bringing the war to a fast end. His troops certainly engaged in genocide against the Sioux and other Indians as well as the buffalo, but the result was the pacification and gradual settlement of the West.

O'Connell gives us a very good look at Sherman the man. The author admits that he likes his subject, but we see both his flaws and strengths. Dividing the book into three distinct sections leads to some confusion and repetitiveness, but the writing is clear and the research is solid. Perhaps even some of Sherman's Southern critics will come to have a greater appreciation of the man many of his soldiers called "Uncle Billy."

Chris DeRose, *The Presidents' War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War that Divided Them*. Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2014. 380 pp.

When the Virginia Convention that met to consider secession in April 1861 voted to leave the Union, two Southern presidents walked arm in arm to the Virginia capitol while a large crowd of spectators cheered them on. Jefferson Davis, the newly elected president of the Confederacy and John Tyler, the tenth president of the United States, had lobbied hard for Virginia to secede and were overjoyed that the guns fired on Fort Sumter and President Abraham Lincoln's subsequent call for troops had brought about the desired vote.

This scene is one of the most poignant in historian Chris DeRose's most



recent book, *The Presidents' War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War that Divided Them*. The focus of this interesting and original work is the history of the Civil War through the actions, thoughts and words of six American presidents who governed in the tumultuous decades that led up to the war. DeRose carefully examines the administrations of Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, James Polk, Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, James Buchanan and, ultimately, Abraham Lincoln, carefully analyzing each president's role in the process that led to civil war and the respective differences in their approaches to the problems of slavery and secession.

Each of Lincoln's five predecessors was confronted by the question of the expansion of slavery and state's rights. Andrew Jackson had taken a firm stand that included the real threat of military force to persuade South Carolina to abandon its stand on the Nullification Crisis of 1832 and it is quite possible if Buchanan had taken such a stand in 1860, South Carolina may have hesitated to secede when it did.¹ When the Mexican War brought huge new territories to the United States, the question of the expansion of slavery to these new areas created a political crisis that eventually led to war. Each of the presidents before Lincoln sought to conciliate the South through a series of compromises. Buchanan and Fillmore saw their role as that of a conciliator while Franklin Pierce seemed to harbor strong Southern sympathies that were symbolized by his close friendship with Jefferson Davis. It was Lincoln's firm decision not to condone the spread of slavery that induced South Carolina and the other Southern states to finally leave the Union.

When the Civil War began, Lincoln's five living predecessors all opposed his actions, stating that Lincoln's decision to use military force against the South had destroyed the Union and had driven the South out of the United States. DeRose correctly writes that "The former presidents, who had compromised and capitulated in the face of the slave power, were living relics of an era that now was gone. Whatever compass they had followed that had led them to the presidency now failed to work in the new America." (304)

DeRose takes on a complex topic in charting the course of six very different presidents and it is inevitable that there will be some sections that deal with their topics rather superficially. All in all, however, DeRose handles his topic very well. Comparing and contrasting the work of all six presidents is a rather novel approach and DeRose is largely successful in his effort to produce an interesting and worthwhile book.

⁽¹⁾ To be fair, as DeRose notes, the U.S. Army had only 16,000 troops in 1860, most of them scattered at outposts in the West.)

American Presidents

Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013. 352 pp.

Every year when I take my international students, most of them Japanese and Koreans, to visit Monticello, they question me over the very ob-



vious contradiction about Jefferson's life: He wrote the Declaration of Independence proclaiming that all people are entitled to life and liberty, but he was also one of the major slaveholders in central Virginia. A great many historians have debated this paradox for decades, but historian Henry Wiencek does offer a careful reassessment of this controversy in his recent study, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves*.

Wiencek's premise is that while Jefferson was genuinely in favor of emancipation as a young and radical adult, an older, more mature Jefferson who owned a large plantation at Monticello realized that he could not make a go of his farming operation without a large contingent of slaves to perform all of the hard work necessary. At some point in the late 1790s, Jefferson became so very convinced of the great economic value of slavery that he readily abandoned his younger antislavery sentiments. Slaves next to real estate were the most valuable asset any plantation owner could have and at any one time Jefferson had 150-200 slaves working for him. Jefferson calculated the worth of each slave and noted that his net worth increased whenever a slave woman produced children who legally became Jefferson's property at their birth.

Jefferson as an adult had a very low opinion of Blacks, noting that they lacked the mental capacity to act as responsible citizens in a highly civilized society. He wrote: "Bought from their infancy without necessity for thought or forecast, [black people] are by their habits rendered as incapable as children of taking care of themselves, and are extinguished promptly wherever industry is necessary for raising young. In the mean time they are pests in society by their idleness, and the depredations to which this leads them."

Jefferson was a relatively kindly master when compared to some of his cruel and sadistic plantation neighbors, but his slaves were very much his property along with the farm machinery, the nail and textile factories at Monticello, and much else. Slaves did much of the building of the main house at Monticello, working to dig a basement in the midst of a deep freeze and snow storm in the dead of winter. There is evidence that Jefferson took out a slave-equity line of credit with a Dutch bank to finance a major loan to pay off creditors and numerous examples of cruelty toward his slaves—including instances where slave boys as young as ten were severely whipped to make them work harder in the nail factory at Monticello. Although Jefferson vowed to keep slave families together, there were instances when he sold off children to other slave-holders to pay his debts. Jefferson only freed a handful of his slaves at his death, and, at his death, the bulk of his surviving slaves were quickly sold at auction to help pay off Jefferson's debts.

Jefferson's chief concern throughout his mature adult days was to develop Monticello as a paying agricultural enterprise. He grew acres of wheat and other foods and was involved in other pursuits that required vast amounts of slave labor. He did hire free white men on occasion, but their



numbers were sparse compared to the working slave population at Monticello. His slaves were critically important capital assets that did the work and which could be sold, as was often the case, when he needed extra cash to pay off debts.

Wiencek's ideas have been attacked by many reviewers and one cannot say that this is the final word on Jefferson and his slaves. He may or may not have interpreted some of Jefferson's essays and letters correctly. The writing is turgid and often quite repetitive. But the author does raise some disturbing questions about Jefferson that are worthy of discussion.

Walter R. Borneman, *Polk: The Man Who Transformed the Presidency and America*. New York: Random House, 2009 and 2012. 422 pages.

James K. Polk (1795-1849) was one of our more successful presidents of the nineteenth century. He was a dedicated workaholic who literally worked himself to death—he died less than four months after leaving office, but his legacy was a greatly expanded American nation that now included Oregon and Washington as well as California and the American Southwest.

Walter R. Borneman, author of several books on nineteenth century American history, has composed a spirited biography of our eleventh president. Polk, a native of Tennessee, closely tied his political fortunes to those of his friend and mentor, Andrew Jackson. He entered politics early and was elected to Congress in 1825. Polk was a strong supporter of the Jackson administration (1829-1837) and had a successful tenure in Congress that saw him elected as Speaker of the House (1835-1839). A Democrat, he made a successful run for governor of Tennessee, but lost the next two races for governor.

It is often said that Polk was a dark horse candidate for president in 1844, but Borneman rejects this idea. By the time he sought the presidency in 1844, he was already a nationally known and respected politician because of his successful career in Congress and because of the support he received from Andrew Jackson. He laid the groundwork for a presidential campaign in 1843 and 1844. He was not one of the leading candidates, but when the 1844 Democratic convention deadlocked, party leaders handed the nomination to Polk. His major opponent was Henry Clay who then made his strongest run for the presidency. Polk defeated Clay by a very narrow margin (forty-nine percent to forty-eight percent).

While Polk is known for such domestic accomplishments as the creation of the Naval Academy and the Smithsonian, his announced agenda was the admission of Texas as a state, the acquisition of the Oregon territory at the expense of Great Britain, and the seizure of California and the Southwest from Mexico. Polk managed to wean the Oregon territory from Great Britain without resorting to war, but it took a major war with Mexico to get its northern territories. To get his war Polk sent provocative orders to American troops stationed along the border with Mexico that soon led to fighting. The Mexican War (1846-1848) was hard fought but ended with



a clear American victory. When Polk left office in March of 1849, he had accomplished virtually everything on his 1844 agenda, but he soon died due perhaps to complete exhaustion as well as a bad bout of cholera.

Borneman's biography of Polk is one of the very best presidential biographies that I have encountered. The reader gets a very good sense of Polk as a man and as a leader. The writing is lucid and well developed and the research is most impressive.

Charles Lachman, *A Secret Life: The Lies and Scandals of President Grover Cleveland*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2012. 481 pp.

Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) was the only Democratic Party president between Presidents Buchanan (1857-1861) and Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) and the only American President to serve two non-consecutive terms. But today he is largely forgotten, one of those rather undistinguished men with whiskers who lived in the White House throughout the 1870s, 1880s and much of the 1890s. Any history buff can perhaps remember three things about Mr. Cleveland—that he served two non-consecutive terms, that his face was once on the thousand dollar bill, and there was a fuss that he had fathered a baby out of wedlock.

Cleveland's rise to power was sudden and unexpected. Born in upstate New York, he studied and became a lawyer based in Buffalo. He became involved in local politics, but his only stint in office was when he served as the city's sheriff. When local political bigwigs persuaded him to run for mayor of Buffalo in 1881, he ran on an anti-corruption platform and when he won, he shocked everybody in Buffalo by rooting out and ending corrupt politics in the city. He soon won a reputation as a clean reformist politician that led to his successful candidacy for Governor of New York in 1882. His strong image as governor won him so much national acclaim and his leadership in a state with a huge number of electoral votes brought him the Democratic nomination for President in 1884. His Republican opponent, James G. Blaine, a former Senator and Secretary of State, had been involved in scandals in earlier years and had less than an honorable reputation. Cleveland won by a very narrow margin.

The focus of Lachman's book is not really on Cleveland's political life while in office – there is a good description of his sudden rise to power before 1884 – but rather on the scandals that plagued him throughout his political life. It is well known that Cleveland fathered a child by a beautiful young widow named Maria Crofts Halpin in 1874. Author Charles Lachman offers a very convincing argument that Cleveland, then still a bachelor who had a powerful physique and weighed in at close to 300 pounds, brought Halpin back from a dinner date and then brutally raped her in her apartment. When she became pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy, Cleveland used his influence to stifle rumors and to prevent Halpin from talking. When the baby was two, Cleveland had local police seize the boy and put him in an orphanage and forcing his mother briefly into an insane asylum.



Cleveland bought her silence with a cash payment of \$500 and for several years Halpin remained quiet, too scared to talk. But the story leaked out during the fall 1884 presidential campaign when a minister out for fame and glory got wind of the scandal, had it published in a sympathetic Buffalo newspaper, and created a national sensation fiercely promoted by the Blaine campaign. Even though Halpin provided a legal affidavit detailing the rape, the powerful Democratic Party machine and Cleveland himself denied the rape aspect, saying that the sex was consensual. The desire of voters for a change in leadership, the bad reputation of Blaine, and the ill-timed comment by a minister giving a blessing at a Blaine rally (with Blaine present) that included the insult that the Democrats were the party of “Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion” gave the election to Cleveland – many Irish-Americans, some of whom were ready to vote for Blaine, were infuriated by the quote and voted Democratic.

Lachman also discusses Cleveland’s social life in the White House. Because he was still a bachelor, he chose his sister Rose Cleveland to be his First Lady. Later in 1885, at age forty-eight, he courted and married the beautiful daughter of a deceased colleague. Frances Folsom Cleveland at age twenty-two became the youngest First Lady in U.S. history. Lachman also reveals that Rose Cleveland was the first known lesbian First Lady, though nobody outside the Cleveland family was aware of that at that time. Lachman also identifies Cleveland’s bastard son by his later adopted name, Dr. James E. King, a highly respected Buffalo area gynecologist who died in 1947.

While the focus of the book is on the Halpin-Cleveland rape scandal, it would have been useful if author Lachman had discussed at least some of the political events of Cleveland’s time as Governor and President. But there are other good biographies that do just that—and Lachman does an excellent job looking at Cleveland’s personal life, which other biographers pass over. Good research here and fine clear writing.

Edward P. Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Basic Books, 2014. 256 pp.

There has been a recent surge of books and television documentaries on the life and times of Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), so I picked up Dr. Edward P. Kohn’s *Heir to the City* with considerable reluctance, but now I am glad that I did. Kohn talks about Roosevelt’s stereotypical image—a man of the West, a quintessential cowboy. That was certainly the image that Roosevelt wanted to convey, the rugged outdoorsman and Rough Rider, a picture that much of the public had of him. But the reality was very different. Kohn argues that Roosevelt was really none of these things. Instead, TR was a thorough New Yorker whose world view was shaped by the city and whose interests and concerns always revolved around his birth city.

Roosevelt was always a New Yorker at heart. He was born there in



1858 and returned after his four years at Harvard. He was fascinated by politics and early on sought a very public life. Early in adulthood he was a New York State Assemblyman and later Police Commissioner of New York. He was always concerned with the political and social concerns that plagued the booming city. After his victorious days as a Rough Rider, he became a hyper-active governor of New York before ambitious New York politicians, eager to assume his position and power, persuaded TR to run for Vice-President. McKinley's assassination in 1901 made TR President, but even as President his concerns were with New York politics.

Heir to the Empire City is an original and very well written and researched view of TR's New York roots and interests.

Charles Peters, Lyndon B. Johnson. New York: Times Books, 2013. 200 pp.

During my spring vacation in March 1959 my mother took me on a visit to Washington. My dream as a ten-year-old was to become a U.S. Senator and all I wanted to do was to sit in the Senate gallery and take it all in knowing full well that I would be down there some day. Vice-President Nixon was presiding, but becoming bored, he went and had a long chat with Senator John F. Kennedy. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey gave a brief speech endorsing some legislation involving the cattle industry. But the most interesting person to watch was Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. He was busily walking around the chamber and then waived another senator to the far left corner of the room. They had an animated conversation with LBJ doing most of the talking. After a few minutes Johnson gently grabbed the lapels of the senator's jacket and put his nose next to his nose. I thought it was funny—I asked my mother if they were going to rub noses. Later I realized that I was looking at LBJ in one of his more persuasive moments.

Three years later I saw a rather forlorn LBJ Vice-President Johnson at the tickertape parade honoring astronaut John Glenn in New York. Two years later just before the presidential election of 1964 I attended a huge rally for Johnson at Madison Square Garden in New York. When LBJ was delivering his prepared speech to the cheering crowd, a large African-American woman rose and yelled in a booming voice: "Give'm Hell Lyndon." LBJ stopped, took off his glasses and smiled before saying, "Anytime!!!"

Journalist Charles Peters, who knew and worked for both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson has written a short but surprisingly comprehensive biography of LBJ for the Times Books "The American Presidents Series." Peters argues that LBJ was a fascinating politician and certainly a very effective one. His presidency saw the creation of Medicare, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. But his legacy was crippled by Vietnam.

Peters takes a kind view of LBJ, ranking him just below the group of



“greats” that include Lincoln, Washington, and the Roosevelts. LBJ’s legislative record is unmatched by any President but FDR and “The skill and tenacity Johnson demonstrated in pushing his Great Society program through Congress remain unmatched.... [But] The credit Johnson is now given for his towering record on domestic matters is usually accompanied by the blame he receives for Vietnam...The truth is that Johnson made repeated attempts to obtain peace in Vietnam.” He never tried to invade North Vietnam as Harry Truman—to whom history has been most kind in recent years—mistakenly did with North Korea. Rather, he notes “Johnson’s failure comes down to the simple fact that he could not bear to lose a war.” (159-161).

Peters has written an engaging and honest biography that considers both the positives and negatives of Johnson’s long career. There is even lengthy commentary on LBJ’s long relationships with several prominent women including Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas. There are many excellent books on Johnson out there, but I personally appreciated this well-written book the best.

Valley Baseball

Chaz Weaver, *The Valley Baseball League: A History of Baseball in the Shenandoah Valley*. Lulu Publishing Company, 2014. 187 pp.

One of the things I love about summer is baseball. Because we spend great parts of each summer in Boston, I love spending warm evenings sitting in the bleachers at Fenway Park. Most of the time the Red Sox end up



*Fenway Park Boston
2014 (Courtesy Daniel
Métraux)*



at the short end of the score, but win or lose, I leave with a sense of nostalgia, a trip back to the nineteenth century. Baseball is indeed a nineteenth-century game. The actor James Earl Jones said it best in the movie *Field of Dreams*: "The one constant through all the years, Ray, has been baseball. America has rolled by like an army of steamrollers. It has been erased like a blackboard, rebuilt and erased again. But baseball has marked the time. This field, this game: it's a part of our past, Ray. It reminds us of all that once was good and that could be again."

During the nineteenth century, before the advent of the mega-rich Major League Baseball, the game was played on a local level throughout the nation. There were hundreds of leagues and untold rivalries between towns and regions. Some areas of the country such as the Shenandoah Valley still provide excellent baseball on a very local level. For just a few dollars people here in Staunton can go to John Moxie Memorial Stadium, grab a hot dog, and watch the local Staunton Braves battle the Harrisonburg Turks or the Waynesboro Generals.

Local sports historian Chaz Weaver has produced an excellent history of baseball in the Valley. Weaver points out that the modern game of baseball has its Virginia roots right here in Staunton. One H. F. Richards of Baltimore is credited with bringing the game to Staunton in the mid-1860s and that the town boasted three teams – the Staunton Base Ball Club, the Excelsior, and the Lee Club in 1866. The first baseball games in Virginia occurred in the summer of 1866 when the Excelsior played Monticello, the Lee Club, New Market and the Harrisonburg Lone Stars throughout the summer of 1866. Baseball flourished in Staunton as a number of teams that rose and fell including the Virginia League's "Staunton Lunatics" who fell on hard times and were transplanted to rival Harrisonburg. Today the region is dominated by the Valley Baseball League, an NCAA and Major League Baseball-sanctioned summer baseball league. Each Valley League season consists of a forty-four-game schedule played during June and July. The Staunton Braves represent Staunton.

Weaver's *The Valley Baseball League* is a very well researched history of baseball in this region. It is also a statistical handbook of Valley baseball with the records of each club in every league that played here as well as statistical biographies of the members of the VBL Hall of Fame.

Japanese Americans and World War II

Richard Reeves, *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*. New York: Henry Holt, 2015. 342 pp.

It is indeed a sad fact that Americans have always had very negative views of new waves of immigrants and that at times of crisis, they can turn on perceived enemies en masse with vengeance. There was considerable hostility towards the millions of Irish who immigrated to the United States in the 1840s and 1850s as well as considerable wrath against Mexicans and



other Latinos who cross our borders today. My uncle, the late Paul Bubendey, a prominent New York banker born in early 1911, came from a German-speaking household. When the anti-German hysteria hit New York as the United States declared war on Germany, my uncle, then in first grade, remembers being beaten up, bullied, and harassed by other students who condemned his German heritage. Although he later fought with distinction as a naval officer in World War II, he never got over that hysterical aspect of American culture. Americans have never been friendly to minority groups, but no group suffered as much privation and humiliation as Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Novelist Sinclair Lewis wrote an ugly novel in 1935 titled "It Can't Happen Here" about an America run by racist fascists and dominated by widespread concentration camps. Seven years later, starting in early 1942, Lewis' vision became reality following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Respected journalist Richard Reeves brings us a brilliant study of the racist backlash and internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans, two-thirds of them American citizens, in a series of brutal and inhospitable internment camps between 1942 and 1945.

Since the late nineteenth century there had always been a large number of ethnic Japanese in California, Oregon, and Washington. Immigrants born in Japan were ineligible for American citizenship, but their children and grandchildren born in the United States were U.S. citizens. A strong majority of those ethnic Japanese were American-born and most of them had never visited Japan. Most, while proud of their Japanese heritage, took great pride in their new land and demonstrated great loyalty to the United States.

Many Americans in the days after Pearl Harbor voiced fears of sabotage, spies, and actual attacks on the west coast by Japanese, but these fears proved to be unfounded. There were no acts of sabotage or assistance to Japanese attackers in Hawaii even though over a third of the population was ethnic Japanese. The same was true for the west coast of the United States. Japanese submarines did sink a few American cargo ships off the coast and oil tanks in Santa Barbara were briefly shelled by Japanese subs, but there were absolutely no acts of violence by American Japanese or any other ethnic group.

Nevertheless, shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, acting on the advice of Lt. General John DeWitt of the Western Defense Command and California Attorney General Earl Warren, authorized the War Department to designate certain sections of the United States as special military areas and to remove from them "any or all persons" in order to protect the U.S. from sabotage and spies. Acting on these orders General De Witt ordered the evacuation of men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry to ten "relocation centers" (also nicknamed "concentration camps") located mainly in the intermountain West. Seventy percent of the internees were American citizens.



DeWitt as well as many prominent western politicians claimed that the ethnic Japanese in the west would side with the Japanese. DeWitt and his followers used the phrase, “A Jap is a Jap” to justify their evacuation and internment. Roosevelt and Secretary of War Henry Stimson had access to internal government reports that indicated that American-born women and men of Japanese ancestry, the so-called Nisei and Sansei, were loyal to the United States and posed no threat. Also, because they could intercept Japanese cables they also knew that the Japanese government felt that the Nisei and Sansei would be of little use to them. Despite these reports, influential columnist Walter Lippmann and other leading journalists and politicians demanded that Roosevelt take action in order to stop a “fifth column” within the United States. The anti-Japanese hysteria grew in much the same way as the witchcraft hysteria had overwhelmed Salem Massachusetts in 1692. Roosevelt caved into this madness. There were a few prominent Americans including FBI Director Hoover and Attorney General Biddle who questioned the morality and legality of rounding up American citizens, but their voices were drowned out by the hysteria.

Reeves is at his best describing the roundup of ethnic Japanese. With little or notice they were told to immediately report to assembly points from which they were taken to detention centers. They were only allowed to bring what they themselves could carry, generally two suitcases. They had to abandon all their property—cars, houses, and businesses that were either seized or bought by white neighbors at ridiculously low prices. I once met an elderly Nisei woman in California who told me that her family’s house and orchard had been saved by their white neighbors. The neighbors had paid the mortgage on the land and maintained the family’s house and car while they were gone, but such cases were very rare indeed. Interestingly, the family owns the property even today.

Reeves gleefully points out the ridiculous nature of the fears prevalent in the west against the Japanese. One family was arrested because the mother had a notebook filled with knitting instructions—the authorities claimed it was a secret code to reach the Japanese. The owner of a fishing boat suffered arrest because he had oil drums filled with fish parts on his boat—he was accused of supplying oil to Japanese submarines. Such absurdities fill the pages of Reeve’s book.

Reeves presents a very detailed analysis of the conditions in the internment camps, which often held more than 10,000 internees in a relatively small area. Housing was rough, the food awful, and sanitary conditions unbearable. Reeves quotes a report from the California Site Survey of the National Park Service on the conditions of one of the camps in the state:

The camp interiors were arranged like prisoner of war camps or overseas military camps and were completely unsuited for family living. Barracks were divided into blocks and each block had a cen-



tral mess hall, latrine, showers, wash basins and laundry tubs. Toilets, showers, and bedrooms were unpartitioned; there was no water or plumbing in the living quarters; and anyone going to the lavatory at night, often through mud or snow, was followed by a searchlight. Eight person families were placed in 20-x-20 foot rooms. Smaller families and single persons had to share units with strangers. Each detainee received a straw mattress, an army blanket, and not much else. Privacy was non-existent. Everything had to be done communally. Endless queues formed for eating, washing, and personal needs. (92)

Despite their personal humiliations, the Japanese internees rapidly adapted to their new surroundings and proved to be very law-abiding. There were few vocal protests as they tried to make the best of the situation. They organized schools, baseball leagues, churches, hospitals, and much more to restore a degree of order in their new lives. Two thousand, three hundred young ethnic Japanese found release from their detention by agreeing to join the U.S. military. Many gained great distinction serving the country that had detained their families. Reeves raises an interesting point in that for many young internees, their new environment released them from the strict control of their parents. They now had many more opportunities to find boy-friends and girlfriends, to attend dances and much more.

Reeves reports that the Roosevelt administration surmised that after the American victory in the Battle of Midway in June 1942 that the danger of a major Japanese attack on the west coast had passed and that the internments had been a very bad idea. By early 1944 Roosevelt and his advisors had concluded that the internment camps were no longer necessary, but anti-Japanese sentiment in California and elsewhere was so strong that releasing the ethnic Japanese from the camps was not a viable political option. The dismantling of the camps only began after the November 1944 presidential election.

Reeves asks whether such a mass evacuation and internment of American citizens could happen again. The Supreme Court in 1944 affirmed the constitutionality of the whole program noting that there is nothing in the constitution which prohibits it. Several justices objected to the proposition that the government could detain citizens based on their race, but all nine justices agreed that the government could have carried out a total evacuation of the entire population of the region.

The key theme of the book is that the whole internment program was absurd, the unwise result of mass hysteria. Reeves is especially critical of General DeWitt who was clearly a racist fool. Reeves writes in a clear direct manner and has conducted good careful research and leaves the reader with a very clear warning that such a deep tragedy could well occur again.

Recent Acquisitions of the Augusta County Historical Society, 2015

The Augusta County Historical Society has received fifty new collections since the last issue of the Bulletin in 2014. At least sixty-five researchers from twelve states have used the collections. Their research has focused on Augusta County and its communities, family history, streetcars, caves, mining, Montgomery Hall Park, King's Daughters' Hospital, the Civil War, Joseph DeJarnette, and several old houses and villages in the county. We have also used the photograph collection in the Archives to aid in the publication of the newly-released Pediment Publishing book featuring Augusta County, Staunton, and Waynesboro photographs. We have received a generous grant of \$2,000 from the Community Foundation of the Central Blue Ridge to purchase archival supplies for the preservation and storage of our collections. To aid in this, we also received the donation of two large map cabinets from the Sproul family. The archives committee has cataloged all the new collections received and has entered them into our PastPerfect computer program. The historical society is indebted to the following donors who have contributed these collections: Pamela Bauer Miller, Vance Wilkins, Jr., Thelma Varner, Thomas Tabb Jeffries, the Waynesboro Public Library, the Augusta County Library, J. B. Yount, the Staunton Public Library, Nancy Sorrells, the Waynesboro Heritage Foundation, Marney Gibbs, Faith Bryant, Dr. Kenneth W. Keller, Deanna Brooks, Mrs. Ramsey, Dr. Katharine L. Brown, Tom and Carol Donaldson Boyce, Betty Lewandowski, Dr. Daniel A. Metraux, Edmonia Page, Deedy Bumgardner, Karen Evert, the Brownsburg Museum, Allen H. Reynolds, the Hanger family, the Woodturners of Virginia, the Wilkerson family, Turk McCleskey, Doug Roller, Donald W. Houser, Jr., Jim Presgraves, Richard E. Henkel, Pediment Publishers, Ruth Sproul, Mickey Cash, and the Warren Heritage Society. Below is a list of the collections received between October 15, 2014, and October 15, 2015.

Augusta County Historical Society Archivist Dr. Kenneth Keller

2014.0060 Varner Collection: A collection of materials from the Augusta County Library and Media Center, ca. 1950s-1970s, with papers pertaining to the library, Augusta County government, booklets, travel literature, show and commencement programs, a Beverley Manor High School class reunion booklet (1946-1964), correspondence about the Story Hour at the Augusta County Library, church histories, newspapers and clippings, and brochures.

2014.0061 Jeffries Kenton Harper Collection: Photocopied articles from the *Staunton Spectator*, 1827-1867, and a spiral-bound booklet *The Mexican War Correspondence of Kenton Harper and the Augusta Volunteers, 1846-1848*. Research materials used by Thomas Tabb Jeffries in the preparation of his biography of Kenton Harper, editor of the *Staunton Spectator*.

2014.0062 ACHS 50th Anniversary Collection: A large collection of materi-



als honoring the Augusta County Historical Society on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. Includes maps, promotional literature for Staunton from the Chamber of Commerce (1963), three pamphlets on Betsy Bell and Mary Gray (1941) marked "compliments of Charles Catlett" [owner of the mountains]; church histories for Central Methodist Church, First Baptist Church, Trinity Episcopal Church and Trinity Churchyard, Central Evangelical Lutheran Church and Christ Lutheran Church, Hebron Presbyterian Church; booklet, Open House and Dedication of King's Daughters' Hospital (1951); booklet, 50 Years of Rotary in Staunton, 1920-1940; booklet, Origin of the City Manager Plan in Staunton, Virginia (1954); book, two copies, Andrew S. McCreath, *The Mineral Wealth of Virginia Tributary to the Lines of the Shenandoah Valley and Norfolk and Western Railroad Companies* (1883); one copy includes a map of the Flat Top Coal Field and another map showing the connections of the Norfolk and Western and Shenandoah Valley Railroads and the Ores of the Cripple Creek Region, with a table of freight distances; book, N. H. Hotchkiss, *The Pine and the Palm Greeting; or, the Trip of the Northern Editors to the South in 1871 and the Return Visit of Southern Editors in 1872* (1873) [included tipped in poster for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, the New Route between Richmond and Cincinnati]; also map of the 600 miles around Jordan Rockbridge Alum Springs [includes advertisement for J. Bumgardner and Sons, Staunton, Virginia, Old Rye Whiskey]; book, *Memorial of John B. Baldwin, Staunton, Virginia* (1874); spiral bound booklet, *The American Guidebook*, Staunton, Va. [1945; included insignias of U.S. Armed Forces, an advertisement for the Staunton Chapter of the VFW; also ads for local businesses, information on food conservation, ration points, abbreviations for the "most popular" U.S. Government agencies; first aid instructions; Staunton-Augusta County Roll of Honor (1945), and a section on "just a few of our local heroes including Capt. Charles W. East, Brigadier-General A. Franklin Kibler, Lieutenant Jacob "Earl" Jack Manch, Brigadier-General Evarts Walton Opie, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur T. Sheppe, Major Malcolm R. Weller, Lieutenant Colonel Wade Hampton Haislip, Major Thomas D. Howie, Brigadier-General Hierome Lindsay Opie, Lieutenant-General Alexander W. Patch, and Brigadier-General James E. Wharton]; photographs, Staunton National Cemetery caretaker, glossy black and white photographs of Beverley St., Staunton (ca. 1962-1964); photograph, Harnsberger house; newspaper issues, *Staunton Spectator*, August 10, 1869; American Revolution Bicentennial issue, *Staunton News-Leader*, 1976; *Sunday News-Leader*, December 26, 1999, issue commemorating the end of the twentieth century "Our Times—A Virginia Century"; booklet, *Centennial Exhibition of Staunton and Augusta County in the Civil War*, November 3-20, 1961, with list of items exhibited; scrapbook, collection of theatrical magazine photographs of actors and actresses, ca. 1900-1915; theatrical programs, Washington, D.C., and Staunton Opera House sponsored by Highland Park Golf Club; program for an American Biograph motion picture; program, "Sousa and His Band," Staunton Opera House, March 22, 1900; undated racist vaudeville program, Staunton Opera House includes "The Pickaninny Dance"; undated program for the New Theatre, George Arliss in 'the Mollusc'; undated program for "She Stoops to Conquer" with Annie Russell [with ad for Beverley Garage and Auto Supply Company]; clippings, *News-Leader*, November 13, 1966, "Valuable Historical Collections Preserved by Dr. Herbert Turner"; unidentified newspaper article, "Death of Major Andrew Lewis at an Advanced Age" (1906); article, the grave of John Lewis, The Augusta



Pioneer; article, "Prominent Old Families"; "Virginia Heraldry"; menu, Brick House Triangle Tea Room, 1943; Chamber of Commerce promotional booklets, "Staunton Virginia in the Heart of the Shenandoah Valley"; 2 copies, "Welcome to Staunton Augusta County Virginia," ca. 1968; poem, read by the Daughters of the Confederacy in Riverside Cemetery, Waynesboro, May 24, 1906: Armistead C. Gordon, "The Confederate Dead—A Poem," delivered at the unveiling of the Confederate Monument at Thornrose Cemetery, September 25, 1888; oration, Armistead C. Gordon, "Vita Lampada—A Song for a Centenary Year"; articles, extra, "Historical Review of Shenandoah County, Virginia" delivered by Prof. Joseph Salyards, A.M., at Woodstock; article, Dr. James B. Pettis, "A History of Western State Hospital, Staunton, Virginia"; photocopy, application for National Register of Historic Places, Western State Hospital, January 1985; typescript, John Crosby, "The Staunton Plan," reproduced from the Municipal Journal & Engineer, 1909; paper, Frank B. Holt, "Stonewall Brigade Band—Continuous Since 1855—Staunton, Virginia"; Katherine G. Bushman, "Errata: First Marriage Record of Augusta County, Virginia—1785-1813"; calendar, 1906, photographs of Staunton landmarks; two scrapbooks, glued in articles from *News-Leader*, 1975, 1992-1995 including No. 1, Joe Nutt Sketches and Drawings from "Focus on History" section of the newspaper (1993); drawings of Staunton of five articles that appeared in the *News-Leader* in 1975 with stories by Rev. R. L. St. Clair, pastor of Second Presbyterian Church, which was celebrating its 100th anniversary. Scrapbook No. 2 includes "Staunton, Waynesboro, Augusta County Area Business Biography—1859-1987"; a 1993 article about the construction of a new pipe organ for Christ Lutheran Church at Taylor & Boody organbuilders is included; other articles in the book discuss the Staunton Armory Museum, the Sears House Designer Showcase, Selma house, Capote house, the Smith-Thompson House, the Bickle House, the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace, Oakdene house, the Louisa Railroad (including a brochure for the "1993 Autumn Glory Steam Train" with excursions from Charlottesville to Staunton and from Staunton to Clifton Forge); there are also many copies of photographs of Staunton reproduced by the *News Leader* from the Hamrick Collection and a brochure about the Stonewall Brigade Band by Marshall Moore Brice. Scrapbook No. 2 includes a commemorative newspaper issue about the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind (1989), another about Family Owned Businesses (1995), an article about Staunton churches on postcards, a salute to Evarts W. Opie, Jr., upon his retirement from the *News Leader* in 1995, another about Herbert Augustus Weaver's photographs of Staunton, and a newspaper insert about the communities of Augusta County (1995); some items on Frontier Museum; some loose clippings; article on Harrisonburg; No. 2, Joe Nutt's articles with his drawings of landmarks in Augusta County from "Shenandoah Sketches" (1992).

2014.0063 Project Impact Calendar: 2015 calendar published by Shenandoah Valley Project Impact, Central Shenandoah Planning District Council.

2014.0064 High School Publications Collection: A collection of high school literary magazines from the Staunton High School March 1915-1928 [name of school changed to Robert E. Lee High School in 1928], 1928-1940, 1942-1943, 1948-1950, 1950-1961; also four issues of Beverley Manor High School *Pioneer*, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1916.

2015.0001 Railroad Book: Book, Bob Cohen, *A Trip in the Shenandoah Valley on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Southern Railway* (2013). Signed by the author.



2015.0002 Catherine Greene Miller Biography: Book, Pamela Bauer Mueller, *Lady Unveiled—Catherine Greene Miller—1753-1814*; signed by the author.

2015.0003 Virginia History in Documents Folder: Portfolio, Virginia History in Documents—1621-1788 (Library of Virginia) [reproduced Virginia historic documents].

2015.0004 Waynesboro Heritage Foundation Donation: A collection of invoices, advertising, a menu (Rowe's) from Staunton businesses; broadside, Armistead Gordon poem, "The Confederate Dead"; advertisement, Charles L. Weller Boots and Shoes; invoice, Bumgardner and McQuaid Whiskey, 1888; business card, O.S. Rosenberger; invoice, Harman Brothers Liquor House, 1904; share of stock, South Iron Gate Co., 1890.

2015.0005 J. B. Yount Quilt Collection Binder: A three-ring binder with documentation sheets for a collection of fifty-seven quilts from the nineteenth and early twentieth century; compiled by the Virginia Quilt Documentation Project in 2014; documentation sheets include photographs of the quilts and quilters; family names of the quilters include Yount, Dovel, Stephens, and Coiner. The collection belongs to Joseph B. Yount ("J.B.") of Waynesboro. A selection of the quilts was displayed in an exhibit in the gallery of the R.R. Smith Center from February to April, 2015. (call no. SV-YO).

2015.0006 Julia Patterson Fiddle and Bow: A violin/fiddle, bow and case belonging to Emmert Ashby Wine (1872-1951) of Augusta County, Va. Instrument has mother of pearl inlay and inlay purfling. The violin case has a metal plate with "Boston Trademark" on it. Complete description and family history in administrative file.

2015.0007 Seawright Magnesian Springs Collection: A collection 109 items of business correspondence, much with E. L. Edmondson, concerning the Seawright Magnesian Springs at Mt. Sidney, Va. Items in the collection include two letters from the Delaware County, Pa., Prohibition Committee; a letter signed by John Wanamaker, department store magnate; and invoices from businesses such as tobacconists, insurance companies, grocers, jewelers, dealers in dry goods, feathers, wool; there is also correspondence with local firms such as White Star Mills, and J. A. Hamrick Groceries; the correspondence dates from 1874 to about 1910

2015.0008 Atlantic Coast Pipeline Controversy Collection: A collection of signs and advertisements about the proposed Atlantic Coast Pipeline, a 42-inch high pressure natural gas transmission line advocated by Dominion Resources and planned to run through Highland, Augusta, and Nelson Counties from West Virginia, through Virginia, and into North Carolina, with a spur going to Hampton Roads Virginia. The pipeline project was first made public in May of 2014. The collection is an ongoing file.

2015.0009 Gibbs Trade Card Album: One scrapbook of chromolithographed trade cards, advertisements, Sunday School cards and Bible verses, and ephemera compiled by Leta Watts in 1893, when she was eight years old. This album contains advertisements from numerous national and regional businesses in the 1890s including Helvetia Evaporated Cream Co. [Pet Milk], Sapolio Soap, Clark's Thread, Stollwerck Chocolate, *White Sewing Machine Co.*, Singer Sewing Machine, Allen and Ginter Cigarettes, Cottonlene [cotton oil shortening; cards have racist caricature of a black child]; Arm and Hammer Co., Armour Extract of Beef, patent medicines, luggage, shredded coconut, cologne, shoes, silk, and lard, as



well as seven local Staunton businesses. Staunton businesses include Joseph L. Barth, tailor, 9 S. Augusta St.; Caldwell & Holt, stationery dealers; McH. Holliday shoes; Dr. Harnsberger Food Treatment; Warden & Co. Booksellers and Stationers; Lightner, Eichelberger & Co., dry goods and carpets; J. D. Bailey, 118 W. Main St. selling Clark's O.[ur] N.[ew] T.[hread]. Calling cards in the scrapbook are from Nettie B. Hanger, Eliza J. Craig, Cornelia Mathews, Susie D. Taylor, George D. Dalhouse, Jeannie A. Cullen, Bettie M. Watts, John E. Craig, Ernest Mosby, Ann D. Watts, and Mary M. Barnhart.

2015.0010 Book: Slaves in Will Books, book: Augusta County Genealogical Society, Laten Bechtel, comp., *Slaves in Will Books—Augusta County, Virginia, 1745-1866*. With index of slaves and slaveholders.

2015.0011 Faith Bryant Collection: Three books: *Joanne and Kenneth Hoover, Hoover—Three Generations: From Washington County, Maryland to Rockingham County, Virginia* (1994). Includes maps, with Ohio counties map., photographs; *Brigitte Burkett, Nineteenth Century Emigrants from Baden-Wuertemberg*. Volume 1. the Enzkreis.(1997); *U. S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, and Forest Service, Soil Service of Augusta County* (1977)

2015.0012 Deanna Brooks Slide Collection: A collection of 500 slides: topics of the slide collections are: "The Stonewall Brigade Band—old including original members"; "Pictures from *Old Book of Staunton* Written by Armistead C. Gordon, Esq., Houses, Old Businesses, etc. Photographs by Edmund Berkeley"; "Movie Stars—Old New"; "The American Heritage History of the 1920s & 1930s"; also an accordion file with 8" x 10" photographs and a photocopy of early twentieth century promotional booklet about Staunton; booklet, *It Happened Around Staunton, Virginia*.

2015.0013 Whitmore Hotel Collection: A brochure for the Whitmore Hotel, Central Avenue, Staunton; a small blotter for the Whitmore Hotel; a sticker for the Whitmore Hotel; postcard, interior of the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Staunton; a business card for the Whitmore Hotel

2015.0014 Eve Harman Collection: Typescript, Dr. Katharine L. Brown, "A Property through time: A Log House, the land on which it sits, and the owners of the property, from the time of the earliest European settlement of the Shenandoah Valley, c. 1730 through the mid-twentieth century—a report to Eve Morrison Harman by Katharine L. Brown (Feb 1999)"; contains information about Merrifield estate and the Inn at Old Virginia.

2015.0015 Book: Crucible of War: book, Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War—The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America—1754-1766* (2000).

2015.0016 D-Day 50th Anniversary News Leader Supplement, Newspaper supplement, "D-Day Plus 50" from the *Sunday News Leader* June 5, 1994; contains stories and map about the D-Day landings, June 6, 1944; Staunton participants in the landings featured: Arch Sproul, Thomas D. Howie, Woodrow W. Ashby, Ralph S. Coffman; also E. Walton Opie. Local unit was the 116th Infantry Regiment of the 29th Infantry Division [stored in Drawer 5 of map cabinet].

2015.0017 Fishburne Military School Binder: Binder, with materials about the Fishburne Military School including the Carnegie Library, the Founder James Abbott Fishburne, selected catalog pages 1879-1887, military associations includ-



ing Junior ROTC 1919, VMI Connections, Fishburne-Hudgins Educational Foundation, Inc., Morgan Hughes Hudgins, the VMI Class of 1901.

2015.0018 Bumgardner Collection: One panoramic photograph of first Robert E. Lee High School graduating class, 1926-1927, taken at Gypsy Hill Park Staunton; mounted with glue on cardboard; 1 cardboard printed key, on cardboard, "First Student Body—Robert E. Lee High School Class Members, 1926-1927" [individuals identified].

2015.0019 New Deal materials: National Recovery Act Blue Eagle poster, cardboard, National Recovery Act, with Blue Eagle and slogan "We Do Our Part" (ca. 1933).

2015.0020 Evert Map printed map: Historical Map of Virginia Showing the Main Points of Historic Interest.; (American Automobile Association, 1924), Stonewall Jackson Hotel, Staunton, Va.

2015.0021 Book: *Brownsburg in the Civil War* exhibit catalog: A. Cash Koeniger, with contributions by Seth Goodhart and Robert J. Driver, *First and Last...to Pay the Price—Brownsburg's Civil War Story* (2014); brochure, The Brownsburg Museum—One Town & Two Rooms Holding a Community's History; brochure, First and Last to Pay the Price—Brownsburg's Civil War Story; photocopy, article "Brownsburg's Civil War Story Now in Book Form."

2015.0022 Waldo Reynolds Biography: Typescript, Allen H. Reynolds, A Life Lived in Interesting Times—Waldo Reynolds, 1895-1945, Chief Radioman, U.S. Navy (Waldo Reynolds, a resident of Augusta County 1935-1945, died in the Woodrow Wilson General Hospital, Fishersville, Va., December 1, 1945. Author's mother's family was the Hamilton family, who lived in Augusta County).

2015.0023 Mapleton/Hanger's Mill Wine Bottle: hand-blown wine bottle from Huff property (now Mapleton Mill a.k.a. Hanger's Mill at Rt. 801 Hanger's Mill Road and Rt. 250 W in Churchville, Va.)

2015.0024 Expo Presidential Ball of 1973 Program: Program for event at Expoland honoring past presidents of Expo; signed by Guy Lombardo, director of the popular Royal Canadians orchestra.

2015.0025 Daniel Metraux Book Donation: book, Rev. William T. Price, Osborne Wilson, Charles Lewis Campbell, Dr. Henry M. Price, John A. McNeel, William H. Taliaferro, *Voices from Rich Mountain—A Collection of Diaries and Letters by Men from Highland County, Virginia and Several other Accounts of the First Battles Fought in the 1861 Northwest Campaign in the War between the States* (Covenant Books, 2011); book, Philip H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan General United States Army*, Vol. II. (Charles L. Webster & Company, 1888); book, Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith—Woodrow Wilson's First Ladies* (University of Kansas Press, 2010). Autographed by author; hard cover bound book, Deidre A. Hiner [Jones], *Voices of Small Town Business: Portraits of Monterey, Virginia*. (Self Published, 8 of 10). With DVDs. Senior Project, Mary Baldwin College, 2010; book, Richard G. Williams, *The Battle of Waynesboro*. History Press Civil War Sesquicentennial Series (2014); Chris DeRose, *The Presidents' War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War That Divided Them* (2014).

2015.0026 Dr. Katharine L. Brown Book Donation: A collection of books, pamphlets, articles, magazines, and correspondence about the Shenandoah Valley, Rockbridge County, the Civil War, historic museums and houses, libraries, the



Fishburne Military School, Waynesboro. economic development, tourism, the Rotary Club, annexation and consolidation, the Victorian Festival (2000), the genealogy of John and Margaret Lewis, a script for the play "West of the Blue Ridge," and a photocopy of a 1802 indenture between Andrew Woodrow and his wife Mary of Hampshire County, W.Va., and William Chambers of Augusta County for a lot in Staunton. Items in the collection include: Donald Alexander, First Donegore [church where John Craig of Tinkling Spring and Augusta Stone was raised]; *Bellefonte—Staunton's Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 2001); Frank B. Holt, *Stonewall Brigade Band* (1982); Charles A. Bodie, ed., *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Manuscripts: A Guide to Collections in the United States* (1998); Frazier Associates, Augusta Stone Presbyterian Church, Fort Defiance, Va. Historic Structures Report, 1747-1990; Fishburne Military School, *Centennial Taps 1879-1979* (2 copies); Conant H. Emmons, *Bottled Ships* (1969); Russell L. Stultz, *Forty Years of "Shenandoah's Pride" 1922-1962—Historical Review of the Valley of Virginia Cooperative Milk Producers Association, Harrisonburg, Va.* (1963); Merlin E. Garber, *The Legend of Betsey Bell and Mary Gray* (undated); William D. Hoyt, *Valley Views—Lexington and Rockbridge County, Virginia, 1924-1940* (1989) [photographs]; Malcolm Atkin, *The Battle of Worcester, 1651—where England's sorrows were happily ended* [a re-enactment of the pageantry and drama of the Battle of Worcester, 1651, at the Museum of American Frontier Culture, Staunton, Virginia September 6 and 7, 1997] (2 copies); Southern Seminary College, nineteenth and twentieth Valley of Virginia Folk Art, Buena Vista, Va., April 1991; Pamphlet, The Great Staunton/Augusta County Trivia Quiz and Book of Facts (Elizabeth Brant Travel and Tourism program) (undated); Marshall Brice, *Conquest of a Valley* (1964); inscribed to Mary Swan Carroll; Albert Leichter, Staunton, Virginia—*Vignettes from the Shenandoah Valley's Queen City*; Albert Leichter, Staunton, Virginia—*Vignettes from the Shenandoah Valley's Queen City*, Volume II; Pamphlet, Robert Burns—The Ulster-Scots Connection; Pamphlet, "...twenty things you didn't know about Ulster-Scots"; Leaflet, University of Ulster, Institute of Ulster Scots Studies, International Research Network; Contents of binder, Institute of Ulster Scots Studies in the U.S. Research Agenda Meeting, Appalachian Studies Program at Virginia Tech and Institute of Ulster Scot Studies, University of Ulster; Virginia Association of Museums, *Directory of Virginia Museums* (1998); Mary Custis Lee deButts, *Growing up in the 1850s—The Journal of Agnes Lee* (1984); Armistead C. Gordon, *In the Picturesque Shenandoah Valley* (1930); Catherine T. Simmons, *Manassas, Virginia—1873-1973*; Brochures, The Manassas City Museum (undated); Walking & Driving Tours of Old Town Manassas; Minnie Adams Fitting, *The Radford Letters—A Radford Family History* (2002); Anne Hobson Freeman, *A Hand Well Played—the Life of Jim Wheat, Jr.* (1994) [book contains pictures of Blandfield, the home of the Beverley family in Essex County near Tappahannock; William Beverley was a founder Staunton]; Patrick O' Sullivan, ed. *The Irish World Wide—History, Heritage, Identity*. Volume 6, *The Meaning of the Famine* (Leicester University Press, 1997); James Charles Roy, *Islands of Storm* (Dufour Editions, Inc., Chester Springs, PA, 1991); Lewis F. Fisher, *No Cause of Offence—A Virginia Family of Union Loyalists Confronts the Civil War* (Maverick Publishing Company, 2012); Jon Kukla, *Mr. Jefferson's Women* (2007) [inscribed by the author]; Carroll Burnell, *Divided Affections—the Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson's Impossible*



Love (2007); Katie Donovan, et. al, *Ireland's Women—Writings Past and Present* (1994); Magazines, *Rural Living*—BARC Electric Cooperative—Community Electric Cooperative (May 1997); John M. McDaniel, Kurt C. Russ, and Parker B. Potter, *An Archaeological and Historical Assessment of the Liberty Hall Academy Complex 1782-1803*; Daniel P. Jordan, *Virginia and the American Civil War* (The Carroll Lectures 1981—Mary Baldwin College); Glen Burnie, *The House & Collection*; Glen Burnie, Guided Tour of the Historic House (brochure); Glen Burnie, Gardens; Photocopies of clippings about the beginnings of the Waynesboro Public Library; Clippings, Carnegie Library Building Information; Photocopies, Carnegie Library Building Information [includes T. J. Collins correspondence]; photocopy, Charles M. Schneider, Jr., Memorial Library, Fishburne Military School (1986); Photocopies, Waynesboro Public Library 75th Anniversary (1990); Clippings, Waynesboro Public Library; Brochure, The Fishburne First Campaign—Securing the Future of the Best Small Military School in America; magazine, *The Quadrangle*, Winter 1980-1981, Vol. 1, no. 1; Fall 1982, Vol. 2, no. 1; Summer 1983, Vol. 3, no. 1; Fall 1984, Issue 2; Winter 1984, Vol. 4, no. 1; Summer 1985, Vol. 5, no. 1; Winter 1986, Vol. 6, Issue 1; 1992-1993, Vol. 12, Issue 21; Fall 1998, Vol. 8, Issue 1; Proposal, Fishburne Military School; July 11, 2000, Proposed Fishburne Military School Tour and Discussion; Booklet, Edward T. McMahon and Sara S. Holberg, *Better Models for Development in the Shenandoah Valley* (1999); article, Edward T. McMahon, "Tourism and the Environment: What's the Connection?" (1999); article, Edward T. McMahon, "Why is Everybody So Mad about Development?" (1999); advertisement leaflet, Jim Howe, Ed McMahon, and Luther Propst—the Conservation Fund and Sonoran Institute, "Balancing Nature and Commerce in Gateway Communities"; article, Edward T. McMahon, "Fast Food Outlets Get a Facelift"; Brochure, Staunton Rotary Club, Roster 2001-2002; Brochure, Annexation and Consolidation (1983); Leaflet, 2nd Annual Victorian Festival, April 27-30, 2000; Photocopy, excerpts from genealogy book, The Family of John Lewis, Pioneer; John and Margaret Lewis; Script, play, "West of the Blue Ridge: for an exhibit of objects, undated, location unstated; photocopy of indenture, January 18, 1802, between Andrew Woodrow and wife Mary of Hampshire Co. and William Chambers of Augusta Co., for lot in Staunton, No. 59, Frederick St.; Newspaper, *Augusta Country*, 1997-2002; Newspaper, *The Southwestern Episcopalian*, September 2000

2015.0027 Maybrook Schoolhouse Photograph: snapshot, May Brook Schoolhouse, undated

2015.0028 Woodturners of Virginia Collection of Stonewall Jackson Relics: photograph, 8 x 10 inch, in plastic frame, Stonewall Jackson Prayer Tree, beneath which Jackson is supposed to have prayed during his May-June 1862 Valley Campaign; tree located near Mt. Meridian, Grottoes, Virginia; tree owned by Warren E. and Catherine M. Wilkerson and their family until May 27, 2011, when high winds blew down the tree; wooden bowl, from wood of Stonewall Jackson Prayer Tree. marked "Dale Wilburn White Oak SJPT # 37 2012"; cross, marked "White Oak". "SJPT # 113 2012"; by Dale Winburn, marked "Cross # 167" on accompanying note; pen in wooden holder, made by J. Edson McKee, marked "White Oak"; caption note in plastic stand explaining history of the Prayer Tree

2015.0029 Verona Site Report: spiral bound report, "A Preliminary Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of the Proposed Verona Lake Site No. 2," submitted to the Department of the Army, Baltimore District, Corps of Engineers, NABPL-E by



William M. Gardner and Jay F. Custer (1978); with compact disc; includes maps, photocopies of photographs of historic houses, images of archaeological artifacts, charts and tables.

2015.0030 Turk McCleskey Book: Turk McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier* (2014).

2015.0031 2015.0031 Scott Jost Book: Scott Jost, *Shenandoah Valley Apples* (2014); inscribed: June 3, 2015 DONOR: Scott Jost.

2015.0032 Dr. Kenneth W. Keller Book Collection: Book, Richard K. Macmaster, *Scotch-Irish Merchants in Colonial America* (2009); Periodical, James H. Smylie, ed., *Presbyterians and the American Revolution—An Interpretive Account* (1976). The book is a collection of essays by James H. Leyburn, James L. McAllister, Jr., William E. Pauley, Jr., John M. Mulder, Thomas F. Buckley, S.J., J. Earl Thompson, Jr., Howard Miller, John W. Beardslee III, and Christopher M. Beam [*Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 54, No. 1, Spring 1976]; Catalog, Tucker Hill, *Catalogue of Uniforms—the Museum of the Confederacy* (1987); book, John Grenham, *Irish Ancestors—A Pocket Guide to Your Family History* (2004); booklet, William F. Marshall, *Ulster Sails West—the Story of the Great Emigration from Ulster to North America in the 18th century, Together with an Outline of the Part Played by Ulstermen in Building the United States* (1984; booklet, The Scotch-Irish Foundation, Library and Archives of the Scotch-Irish Foundation (1991); book, Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (1985); book, William C. Lehmann, *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture* (1978); book, Hubertis Cummings, *Scots Breed & Susquehanna* (1964); book, Leonard J. Trinterud, comp., *A Bibliography of American Presbyterianism during the Colonial Period* (1968); book, William Wilson McKinney, ed., *The Presbyterian Valley* (1958); book, Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South* (2003); booklet, Books from the Ulster Historical Foundation (2004); book, Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America from Its Origin until the Year 1760* (1857); contains biographical sketches of early Presbyterian ministers in colonial Virginia including John Craig and John Hindman; periodical, *Familia—Ulster Genealogical Review*, Number 19, 2003; folder of Scotch-Irish and Irish pamphlets and booklets including John Grenham, *Irish Ancestors* (2004); William F. Marshall, *Ulster Sails West* (1984); booklet, *Library and Archives of the Scotch-Irish Foundation* (1991); catalog, Books from the Ulster Historical Foundation (undated); booklet, *One Hundred Years and Counting—A History of the Scotch-Irish Society of the United States of America 1889-1989* (1989); brochure, The Scotch-Irish Society of the United States of America, founded 1889 (undated); brochure, The Scotch-Irish Foundation, incorporated 1949; program, Songs of the Thistle and Shamrock by the Staunton Ovation Singers; leaflet, Augusta Stone Presbyterian Church, Ft. Defiance, Virginia 1740 [with list of pastors, 1740-1996]; ephemera, business card, Ulster Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland; Christmas card, National Museums of Northern Ireland; note, Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, 1996.

2015.0033 Roller Hiserman Studio Farm Photograph: an unidentified and undated photograph of a farm landscape from Waynesboro, Va.

2015.0034 Staunton Elks Lodge Architectural Inventory: photocopied documents with an inventory of the architectural features of the Staunton Elks Lodge at Frederick and Central Avenues, Staunton; building is now called the professional building.



2015.0035 Book: Donald W. Houser, Jr., *Remembering Churchville History* (2013).

2015.0036 Wesleyan Female Institute Commencement Program: program, Wesleyan Female Institute, Staunton, Va. (1890).

2015.0037 Henckel Family Genealogy: book, Richard E. Henkel, *The Henckel Family—From Branch 5 of the Anthony Jacob and Maria Dentzer Henkel Family to the Richard Ellis and Gail Reid Henkel Family*.

2015.0038 Pediment Book: *Daily News Leader, Shenandoah Valley Memories*, Pediment Publishing (2005); This book of photographs and captions is especially strong in photographs of Waynesboro.

2015.0039 Horace Day Folio of Drawings: A portfolio of copies of drawings by Horace Day, Professor of Art at Mary Baldwin College, "Some Examples of Architecture in Augusta County and Staunton, Virginia." With captions by Elizabeth Nottingham Day. Subjects include Stuart House, "Folly," Administration Building Western State Hospital, Administration Building Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind, The Manse—Birthplace of Woodrow Wilson, "Old Main"—Stuart Hall, Trinity Church, Home of the Founder of Staunton Military Academy [Kable House], Barracks—Augusta Military Academy. [Note: drawing of Mary Baldwin College Administration Building not in this donation]

2015.0040 Lewis Manuscript on the Virginia Germans: typescript, Sarah Aylor Lewis, *The Contribution of the Germanna and Surrounding Settlements of Germans to Virginia*.

2015.0041 Notes on the Reformed Church in Virginia: photocopy, excerpt, J. Silor Garrison, *The History of the Reformed Church in Virginia 1714-1940* (1948), pp. 16-64. Basic history of the German Reformed Church in Virginia which became the United Church of Christ, ca. 1957.

2015.0042 Cash Collection of Railroad Materials: magazine, *C & O—The Chesapeake and Ohio Historical Magazine* (April 2008); photocopy, brochure, Virginia Springs Special—Chesapeake and Ohio Vestibule Express, the FFV—Fast Flying Virginian (1889). Contains brief descriptions of western Virginia springs; photocopy, Act confirming and amending the Charter of Chesapeake and Ohio R.R., State of West Virginia (1870).

2015.0043 Nancy Sorrells Collection: book, William Kerrigan, *Johnny Appleseed and the American Orchard—A Cultural History*; photocopy of booklet, *Seawright Springs Corporation*, 2005; *A Fountain of Health in Old Virginia [1919-1920]*.

2015.0044 Society Book Collection: book, Terry Bartley, *One Who Served—Brethren Elder Charles Nesselrodt of Shenandoah County, Virginia*. 3rd edition. (2004); book, Dorothy A. Boyd-Bragg, *Portals to Shenandoah Valley Folkways* (2005); book, John L. Heatwole, *The Word Gatherer—Oral History Interview by Carol Maureen DeHart* (2007); book, William Seale, *The White House—The History of an American Idea*. 2nd edition. (2001). Autographed; book, Howard Nicolson, *Kings, Courts and Monarchy*. (1962).

2015.0045 Warren Heritage Society Photograph of Natural Chimneys: one copy of photograph, early twentieth century, 13 x 10 inches, Natural Chimneys, Mt. Solon, Va.

2015.0046 Early Automobile Atlases: Two road early road atlases, undated: National Map Company, Auto Trails and Commercial Survey of the United States (no copyright date), containing a color illustration of highway pole markers, ca. 1925, used before the numbering of the American highway system. There is also a



"*Autoists Gazetteer*," an index, a digest of motor vehicle laws and taxation, national parks and monuments, and a map of transcontinental highways; American Geographic Institute, Eugene Murray-Aaron, ed., *The Home and Library map-Atlas of the United States Indexed with Locations and Populations of the Cities of the Towns and Villages* (Indianapolis, no copyright date). Railroads shown, but no numbered highways.

2015.0047 Railroad Map Collection: Reproductions of two historic maps of railroads that served Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta County: Norfolk and Western Railway and Connections, December 31, 1940, and a Map Showing Chesapeake and Ohio Railway and Chesapeake and Ohio System and Connections, 1940.

2015.0048 Senger's Mountain Lake Camping Resort Collection: One sheet of stationery from Senger's Mountain Lake Camping Resort located east of Greenville on Rt. 608 (Cold Springs Road) in southeastern Augusta County and four postcards of the resort and lake.

2015.0049 Garber Collection: A collection of genealogical and historical materials about various branches of the Garber family of Augusta County and congregations of the Church of the Brethren in Augusta and Rockingham Counties, Congregations of the Church of the Brethren include Middle River, Brothers Valley, Flat Rock, and Pleasant Valley. Clippings, obituaries, photographs, lists of Garber family cemetery interments and a recipe for fruit cake. A history of New Hope, Virginia, and 14 compact disks including New Hope town minutes. In addition, the collection contains a list of survivors of Union and Confederate armies and navies, 1910, a copy of the statute to incorporate New Hope (1890), a transcript of the will of Abraham Garber (1843), notes on Valley marriage customs, two articles on the Germans in the Valley by John Wayland and Hans Jung, and a clipping about the 250th anniversary of six Presbyterian churches in Augusta County, an album of Ada R. Garber, an autograph book of Nora Flory, a cabinet card of Rena Garber, and several published books about the Garber, Henkel, and Renalds families.

2015.0050 W. J. H. Cabell Stock Certificate and photographs: stock certificate in the People's Dime Savings Bank and Trust Association of Staunton, Va., April 10, 1909, for W. J. H. Cabell for \$5.00; accompanying note indicates that Cabell was Washington Jefferson Hamilton Cabell was a free black man; prints of three digitized prints of the Cabell cabin on East Beverley, a Staunton Landmark.

2015.0051 Armistead C. Gordon Book, Armistead C. Gordon book, *Staunton, Virginia—Its Past, Present and Future*. (late nineteenth century). With photographs and drawings by Edmund Berkeley.

2015.0052 Shenandoah Hotel Sign: A metal sign, mounted on wood frame, 5' x 8'; "Shenandoah Hotel—Modern Accommodations—Garage Storage 50 cents—Staunton, Va." ; ca. 1920s; Shenandoah Hotel was the new name of the Eakleton Hotel, later the Augusta Hotel, then the Woodrow Wilson Hotel, now the R.R. Smith Center for History and Art at 20 South New Street, location of ACHS.

2015.0053 Eakle Family Collection: A collection of photocopies and webpages pertaining to the Eakle family and B. Frank Eakle, who erected the Eakleton Hotel in 1893-1894 at 20 South New Street in Staunton. The Eakleton Hotel is now the R. R. Smith Center for History and Art, home of the Augusta County Historical Society. The collection contains excerpts from the Monroe County, W.Va., county history, materials on hot springs and the Greenbrier, Grandma



Moses's connection with the Eakle family, Gettysburg, the Confederate Army and the Civil War, wills and deeds, a newspaper clipping about veteran Latin teacher Miss Margaret Eakle, a description of the Eakleton Hotel, and a genealogy of B. Frank Eakle.

2015.0054 Snyder Grandma Moses Collection: A collection of clippings about Grandma Moses and the effort to restore the Moses houses in Verona. The clippings are from the *News Leader*, 1979-2011, *Family Weekly* magazine (1960), *GRIT*, and a cover story about Grandma Moses from *Life* magazine (1960), plus several undated clippings and an advertisement for Otto Kallir's American Heritage book about Grandma Moses.

2015.0055 Waynesboro Telegraph and Telecommunications Booklet: A Waynesboro Historical Commission booklet about telegraph and telecommunications in Waynesboro. Published 2014-2015.

2015.0056 Southern Churchman Newspaper: Episcopalian newspaper, *The Southern Churchman*, June 7, 1888. Published in Richmond.

2015.0057 Atlas of the American Revolution: A portfolio of printed plates of reproductions of eighteenth century maps of the British colonies in North America entitled "American Revolution—1775-1783—Atlas of 18th-century Maps and Charts" (U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, undated.).

2015.0058 Old Dominion Map Company Map of Final Landholders of Beverley Manor: Map, twentieth century, Old Dominion Map Company, John Hale, cartographer. Early landholders of Beverley Manor.

2015.0059 Beverley Street Photograph: Photographic copy, photograph of Beverley Street, July 4, 1911, looking west; shows carriage driven by Leta Watts Gibbs with baby William Wayt Gibbs.

2015.0060 Dr. Katharine L. Brown Research Collection: Books: Sheelah and David Todd, *Register of Gravestone Inscription in Lockpatrick Old Burial Ground, Artigarvan, Strabane, Northern Ireland*; Randolph Wall Cabell, *Cabell Sightings 1699-1751* featuring Re-discovered letters of William Cabell and Elizabeth Burkes Cabell; Richard O. Byrne and Michael Craun, *The Restoration of the Grandma Moses House, Verona, Virginia* (2006); photocopy, Boutwell Dunlap, *Augusta County Virginia in the History of the United States* (Frankfort, KY, Kentucky State Historical Society, 1918); typescript, Staunton Public Library history, with photographs; biographical materials: *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*; Rev. John Craig; Benjamin Mosby Smith; Robert Lewis Dabney; Genealogical Material: McDowell family history; Opie Genealogical Records; Lynn Ancestry; Information on Augusta Courthouse Records: Researching Deeds; Historic Staunton Foundation, *The Queen City Quarterly*, December 1981, New Tax Incentives for Restoration; *Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective*; Presbyterian Cemeteries: Mint Spring; Mt. Carmel; McDowell (Highland County); New Providence (Rockbridge Co.); North Mountain; Old Lebanon; Old Monmouth (Rockbridge Co.); Old Providence; Patrick Cemetery; Pilson Rockfish Cemetery (Nelson Co.); Shemariah; Smith's Egypt (Rockingham) Tinkling Spring Historical Collection Catalog; Excerpts from Bishop William Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Virginia Families* (1910); Records of the Presbyterian Church of Staunton, Vol. II, 1804-1864; Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church, Deerfield; Folder 19: Index to the Hanover Presbytery Minutes; James Madison University Student Internship with Lot's Wife Publishing Company and the Augusta County Historical Society (2006).

Index

A

A Secret Life: The Lies and Scandals of President Grover Cleveland 131
Administration Building (Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind) 125, 148
Administration Building (Western State Hospital) 148
African-Americans 3, 10, 22-26
Alexander, H. B. 109
Allen and Ginter Cigarettes 142
Altizer property 86
Altizer, Bill 82, 84; Cecil 80; Cecil T. 82
Anderson, Fred 143
Andersonville prison 32, 53
Antique stores of Augusta County 117
Archaeological Society of Virginia 63
Archeologic Investigations in James and Potomac Valley 62
Arliss, George 140
Arm and Hammer Co., 142
Armour Extract of Beef 142
Armstrong, James 114; Kathleen 64, 68
Army of Northern Virginia 56
Army of the Potomac 56
Arnold, Rev. 97
Ashby property 86, 93
Ashby slaughter house 82
Ashby, Thomas 79, Anna 82, Woodrow W. 143
Ashby (Turner) & Sons, 112
Ashby-Connell store 97
Augusta Agricultural Fair 34
Augusta County 8, 13, 34
Augusta County Library and Media Center 139
Augusta Hotel 149
Augusta Memorial Association 28, 30, 35
Augusta Military Academy 148
Augusta Stone Presbyterian Church 145

B

Babb, Augustus 107
Bachtel, J. 102

Baer, J. 102
Bailey H. E. 107; J. D. 143
Baker, W. E. 103
Baldwin, John B. 140
Baltimore in 1861 123
Barlow, Gordon 68
Barnes, Charles H. 53
Barnhart, Mary D. 143
Barterbrook 7, 8, 11, 13
Barterbrook house 10, 13, 19
Barth, Joseph L. 143
Beam, Christian 107
Bear & Wilson. 112
Bear Bros. Shop 100
Bear (J.T.) mill 100
Bear (W.T.) tract 83
Bear, Christian 100; Christian A. 105; G. M. 111, 114; George M. 100; Hoover 113; J. T. 97, 111, 114; Jake 113; James, Jr. 113; James, Sr. 113; M. E. 105; Martha J. 105; May 113; W. T. 97, 100; W. T. II 84
Beard, Christian 107
Beauregard, P. G. T. 124
Beaver Dam 95
Becks, Helen 23
Bell, M. J. 105; Rachel J. 105
Belle Isle prison 32
Bellefonte 145
Berkeley, Edmund 143
Bethel Church 103
Betsy Bell and Mary Gray 140
Beverley Garage and Auto Supply Company 140
Beverley Manor High School 139, 141
Beverley, Robert and Peter 8; William 145
Beverley Patent 8
Bickle House 141
Biddle, Francis 137
Biggers, Sam 7
Bismarck Tribune 39
Bittle, D. F. 107
Bixler, W. A. 112
Black, Robert 104
Blaine, James G. 131



Blair, J. S. 112, 113; J. S., Dr. 100; Robin 113; W. G. 112; Wallace 97
Blandfield 145
Bloody Shirt Platoon 34
Blue Ridge Mountains 61
Book Reviews 119
Booker T. Washington Alumni Committee 24
Bourneman, Walter R. 130
Bovey, H. A. 102
Boward, Lacy 80
Bowersox, J. E. 102
Branch Meeting House 115
Brashear, T. F. 102
Brice, Marshall 141, 145
Brick House Triangle Tea Room 141
Brimlow, D. G. 103
Brockenbrough, John 45
Brown, B. S. 107; H. A. 108; J. 107; J.A. 111; Mollie 52; Brown, Rev. 101; Sallie 100; Walter 24; William 101; William H. 52
Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg 1
Bubendey, Paul 136
Buchanan, James 128
Bull Run, Battle of 120
Bumgardner and McQuaid Whiskey 142
Bumgardner and Sons 140
Burnell, Carol 145
Bushman, Katherine G. 141
Butler, Benjamin F. 31
Byrne, Richard O. 150

C

Cabell, Elizabeth Burkes 150; Randolph Wall 150; Washington Jefferson Hamilton 149
Cabell, William 150
Caldwell & Holt, 143
Campbell, Oscar 79; Robert L., Jr. 80, 84
Canadian Pacific Railroad. 33
Canter, J. W. 108
Caplinger, E. B. 103
Capote house 141
Carrol, Julius 23
Castle Creek 96, 111
Catlett, Charles 140

Caul, Gertrude 23
Cave Spring 79, 86, 93
Cease house 79
Cedar Creek, Battle of 125
Central Evangelical Lutheran Church 140
Central Methodist Church 140
Chamber of Commerce 140
Chiles, John 23
Christ Church, Alexandria 1
Christ Lutheran Church 140
Christian, Bolivar 43
Church of the Brethren 149
Churchville 86
Churchville history of 94
Churchville Pike 95
Churchville Woman's Club 84, 94, 95
Churchville-Jennings Gap road 96
City Manager Plan in Staunton, Virginia 140
Civil Rights Acts of 1964 133
Civil War 27, 120
Clarks Thread 142
Clay, Henry 130
Cleveland, Grover 32, 131; Rose 132;
Cochran, Addison 97; James 114
Cochran's Mill 97
Coe, W. P. 108
Cohen, Bob 141
Collins (T.J.) Architect & Sons 22, 24
Collins, G. T. D. 108; C. T. 109
Community Club 95
Cook, David 107
Copolah County, Mississippi 32
Cosway, Maria 145
Cottonlene 142
Coursey, W. R. 102
Craig, Eliza 143; John 150; John E. 143
Craun, Michael 150
Craver, Cora 100, 112, 113; Isaac 96, 113
Crawford, Baxter 104, 105; Cornelia 104
Crickenberger, J. J. 108
Crosby, Amos 107; John 141
Cullen, Jeannie A. 143
Cummings, Hubertis 147



D

Dabney, John Craig 150; Robert L. 18
Dalhouse, George D. 143
Darlington, U. V. W. 109
Davies, Dr. 100; William H. 112
Davis, J. B. 107; Jefferson 32,
39, 52, 57, 124, 128; Varina 123
Day, Elizabeth Nottingham 148;
Horace 148
deButts, Mary Custis Lee 145
Democratic Party 31
DeRose, Chris 127, 144
DeWitt, John 136
Diamond, T. J. 99
Donovan, Katie 146
Douglas, Helen Gahagan 134
Douma, Michael 117
Downs, Earl 69
Driver, Charlie 112; Robert F. 90;
Robert J. 144
Dudley, Leliah H. 105; Martha J. 105
Dunaway, Wayland F. 147
Dunlap, Boutwell 150

E

Eagle Rock Lane 79
Eagle Rock Road 82
Eakle, B. Frank 149
Eakle family 149
Eakleton Hotel 149
Early, Jubal 29, 125
East, Charles W. 140; Jean 63, 84;
Richard Aziz 84
East farm, Churchville 58, 92
East (John) Indian Burial Mound 58,
62, 78
Eccord, Jacob 106
Edwards, W. 102
Elections 31
Embattled Rebel: Jefferson Davis as
Commander in Chief 123
Encyclopedia Virginia, 76
Engle, Joseph J. 108
Eskridge, Alfred A. 108
Euritt, Caroline 105; J. W., Mrs. 100;
W. J. 99; William 97
Evers, A. M. 102

Ewing, Robert 49; W. O. 103
Expoland 144

F

Fadeley, G. B. 103
Fenway Park 134
Fillmore, Millard 128
First Baptist Church 140
First Donegore Church 145
Fishburne Military School 143, 146
Fishburne-Hudgins Educational
Foundation 144
Fisher, Anthony 107; Lewis F. 145; O.
W. 103
Floral Hill 96
Flurkuchenhaus 10
Fontaine, John 61
Foraker, Joseph Benson 32
Ford, J. H. 103
Foreman, Jacob 106
Fort Duquesne 2
Fort Fisher 55
Fort Necessity 2
Fort Sumter 122
Fowke, Gerald 62
Freeman, Anne Hobson 145; Douglas
Southall 2, 47
Frontier Culture Museum 78
Fulkerson, J. W. 102
Funkhouser, J. A. J. 99, 112
Furr, Frazier 108

G

Garber, Abraham 149
Geeding, Ephraim 96
German Reformed Church 148
Germannna 61
Gettysburg, Battle of 119
Gibbons, J. 102
Gibbs, Leta Watts and William W. 150
Gilbert, J. Kyle 109; W. C. 115
Gilkerson (Mrs. Mary E.) house 10,
7, 20
Givens, Irene 23
Glen Burnie 146
Glenn, John 133
Glossbrenner, Bishop 99; J. J. 102
Good Templars 111



Goodhart, Seth 144
Gordon, Armistead C. 141, 142, 149
Grand Review in Washington DC 57
Grandma Moses 150
Grandma Moses House 150
Grant, Ulysses S. 42, 54, 119, 124
Graves, C. A. 49
Great Wagon Road 3
Green Hill Cemetery 95
Grenham, John 147
Grim, J. L. 102; J. O. 102
Groah, W. J. 109
Groseclose, P. H. 109
Guiton, T. A. 106
Guthrie-Ott main house 18
Gwynne, S. C. 120
Gypsy Hill Park 23

H

Haines, Philip 107
Haislip, Wade Hampton 140
Halpin, Maria Crofts 131
Halterman, John, Jr. 84, 88
Hamilton, R. S. 112
Hammack, A. S. 102; C. B. 102
Hamrick (J. A.) Groceries 142
Hanger, Alice 105; George 112; H. H. 99, 111, 112, 114; Nettie B. 143
Hanger Artificial Limb 109
Harden, Alonzo 23
Harman Brothers Liquor House 142
Harnsberger, A. L. 109
Harnsberger Food Treatment 143
Haroff, Lewis 107
Hebron Presbyterian Church 103, 104, 140
Hedrick, J. M. 107
Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt, 132
Heizer, J. H. 105; James 104, 105; James. F. 104; John 104; Sarah 104
Helmick, Jim 99
Helvetia Evaporated Cream Co. 142
Hemings, Sally 2
Henckel Family 148
Henkel, Richard E. 148
Hevener, J. W. 101

Hicks, J. W. 102
Hildebrand, Thomas 108
Hindman, John 147
Hiner, Deidre A. 144
History of Augusta County 60, 94
History of Churchville 84
Hoff, Granville 112
Holliday shoes 143
Holt, Frank B. 141; Reuben 13
Homan, G. D. 108
Hoover, H.L. 101; J. Edgar 137; Joanne 143; Kenneth 143; Terry 96
Horn, J. 103
Hotchkiss house 80
Hotchkiss, Jedediah 94, 97, 101; N. H. 140; Nelson Mrs. 101
Hotchkiss Road, 83
Hott, J. W. 102
Houck, J. 102; J. B. 102
Houser, Donald W. 148; Donald W., Jr 58, 94; Earl 69
Houston, Cammie 113
Howie, Thomas D. 140, 143
Hoyt Log House 10
Huddle, W. P. 107
Huffman, Peter 107
Huffs mill 114
Hughes store 99
Hughes, W. E. 112
Humphrey, Hubert H. 133
Hutchinson, Jessie 113

I

I-house design 14
Imboden (John) House 10, 20
Indian Burial Mound 58
Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II 135
Ingalls, John J. 32
Inn at Old Virginia 143
Irwin, D. C. 103, 104, 106

J

Jackson, Allen 23; Andrew 128, 130; Davy 98; Eliza 98; Thomas J. (Stonewall) 30, 37, 101, 120



Jakes Flat. 87
Jamestown 76
Jefferson, Geo. R. 108; Thomas 13, 129
Jeffries, Thomas Tabb 139
Jemison, T. J. 23
Jennings Branch 81, 95, 110, 115
Jennings Gap 95
Jennings Gap Road 94
Jerusalem Chapel Road 84, 86
Jim Crow segregation 2
Johnson, Andrew 45; John 23;
Lyndon B. 133
Johnston, John 23; Joseph E. 56, 124
Jones, Kenneth L. 23; M. P. 99, 112;
Thomas M. 108; B. W. 112
Jordan, Guy 113; William 97
Jordan-Bychkov, Terry G. 147
Jordan's Point Indian site 77
Jost, Scott 147
Joyness, E. S. 44
Junkin, E. D. 103; Elinor (Jackson) 121

K

Kallir, Otto 150
Kanawha Gazette 40
Keller, Lewis 107; Samuel 107
Keller stone house 79, 89
Kenton Harper Collection 139
Kenzie, Gilbert R. 68
Kerns Indian site, Virginia 76
Kerrigan, William 148
Khnopf, Phillip E. 79, 84
Kibler, A. Franklin 140
Kidder, G. D. 109
King, James E. 132
King's Daughter's Hospital 140
Kinzie, Gilbert R. 70
Kiracofe, J. W. 102
Knott, W. 102
Knowles, Betsey 100; Bob 99
Koeniger, A. Cash 144
Kohn, Edward P. 132
Korda, Michael 119
Kukla, Jon 145

L

Lachman, Charles 131

Lee, Agnes (journal) 145
Lee, Mary Custis 43; Robert E. 33; 33,
30, 37, 42, 119, 120, 124; Robert E.,
Jr. 46
Legend of Betsey Bell and Mary Gray
145
Lehmann, William C. 147
Leichter, Albert 145
Lewis, Andrew 140; Lewis, Charles
144; John 140, 146; Sarah Aylor
148; Sinclair 136
Lewis Creek Mound 58
Lexington Presbytery 103
Libby prison 32
Liberty Hall Academy 43
Lickliter B. H. 99
Life and Legend of Robert E. Lee 119
(The) Life of Bishop Glossbrenner 94
Liggett, John W. 108
Lincoln, Abraham 52, 55, 123, 124, 128;
Mary Todd 55
Lindsay, Thomas 112; Tom 96
Link, Adam 112
Linkous, Bobby 81; Bobby C. 82, 92
Lippmann, Walter 137
Little Ice Age 77
Loch Willow 80, 97
Loch Willow Presbyterian Church 98,
103, 106, 113
Loch Willow Mansion 113
Lockpatrick Old Burial Ground 150
Lockwood, Charles 122; John 122
Lone Beech Farm 10, 20
Lone Fountain 86, 111
Lone Fountain Landscape 79
Louisa Railroad 141
Lutheran Church 97, 113
Lutz, J. A. 111

M

Macmaster, Richard K. 147
Magann, P. E. 108
Maiden, J. W. 103
Manassas, Virginia 145
Manch, Jacob "Earl" Jack 140
(The) Manse (Woodrow Wilson
Birthplace) 148



Mapleton Mill 144
March, James H. 108
Marshall, William F. 147; William K. 108
Martin, Nannie 114
Mary Baldwin College 119
Masincup, Richard 69, 82
Massanutten Mountain 61
Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves 129
Matthews, Cornelia 143; Print 32
Mauzy, Richard 32
Maybrook Schoolhouse 146
McCabe, W. V. 102
McCarthy, Edward 113; Nora 110
McClanahan (William) house 10, 12, 15
McClanahan, W. S. 107; William 19
McCleary, Ann 7, 13, 17, 19
McCleskey, Turk 1, 147
McComb (Andrew) House 10, 15
McComb (Mrs. J. B.) House 10, 15
McComb (William.) house 10
McCray (Joe) House 10, 11
McCreath, Andrew S. 140
McCutchan, W. M. 103
McDaniel, John M. 146
McKinley, William 133, 147
McKittricks Branch 84, 86
McMahon, Edward T. 146
McNair, James 107
McNeel, John A. 144
McNeer, A. C. 108
McNiel, J. W. 108
Meade, George 55; William 150
Medicare 133
Meherrin Indians 61
Memorial Day, meaning of 30
Methodist Church, Churchville 97, 113
Methodist Episcopal Church, Churchville 107
Métraux, Daniel A. 119
Mexican War 120, 130
Meyerhoeffer, M. 107
Middle River 58, 81, 95
Miles, J. W. 102

Miller, Catherine Green 142; J. F. 107; John T. 23; Kristie 144; Peter 107; Peter 107
Minnich, M. R. 107
Moffett, A. S. 106; Rev. 100; James 19
Mongold house 80
Montezuma 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20
Montgomery Hall Mansion 22
Montgomery Hall Park 25
Montgomery Hall Park Committee 24
Montgomery, Hugh 5
Monticello 3, 129
Moravians in Virginia, 1753 3
Morgan, John Tyler 28
Morris, William 13
Morrison, Mary Anna (Jackson) 121
Mosby, Ernest 143
Mount Vernon 2
Moyers, Will 111
Mullenax, Carl 100
Myers (D) & Co 112
Myers, Isaac 105; Margaret A. 105; Samuel 105; Sarah B. 105

N

Natick, Massachusetts 52
Natural Chimneys 148
Neel, A. A. P. 108
Nelson, Alexander L. 44
New Hope 149
Nihiser, R. 102
Norfolk and Western Railway 140
Northern Pacific Railroad 33
Nullification Crisis of 1832 128
Nutt, Joe 141

O

O'Sullivan, Patrick 145
Oakdene house 141
O'Connell, Robert L. 126
Odd Fellows 111
Opie, Evarts W. Jr. 141; Evarts Walton 140; Hierome Lindsay 140; John N. 35
Ott (Guthrie) house, 18
Our Times: A Virginia Century 140



P

Pannell, R. 23
Patch, Alexander W. 140
Patterson (W. B.) house 10, 11
Patton, James 150
Pearl Harbor 136
Peters, Charles 133
Pettis, James B. 141
Peyton, J. Lewis 8, 60, 94; John 22
Pickett, George 119
Pierce, Franklin 124
Pilson, Matthew 104
Pinkerton, John 104, 106
Plowden, J. M. 106
Polk, James K. 128, 130
Polk: The Man Who Transformed the Presidency and America 130
Powhatan Indians of Tsenacomoco 76
Prayer Meeting House, Churchville 98, 101
Presbyterian cemeteries 50
Presidents' War: Six American Presidents and the Civil War that Divided Them 128
Preston, Thomas L. 103
Price, Henry M. 144; William T. 144
Price, Pryor, Elizabeth 47

Q

Quidor, J. B. 112; L. L. 113; John B. 96, 112

R

Racey, L. A. 103
Radford Family History 145
Ramsey House 10, 20
Rappahannock River 61
Ream, Vinnie 127
Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson 120
Reeves, Richard 136, 137
Republican Party 31
Rescork, Phillip D. 108
Reynolds, Waldo 144
Rice, J. E. B. 102
Richards, H.F. 135
Richardson, W. T. 104

Rickard, H. C. 109
Rife, W. A. 111
Riley, H. L, Mrs. 18
Rimel, G. 102
Ritchie, Dr. 114; W. W. J. 107
River Hill Gardens 79
(The) Road to Black Ned's Forge 5
Roane, H. M. 108
Robert E. Lee High School 141, 144
Roberts, Leroy 24
Robinson, Patsye B. 24
Roller Hiserman Studio Farm 147
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 136
Rosenberger, O. S. 142
Ross, W. D. 108
Rosser, Thomas Lafayette 27, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39
Rotary in Staunton 140
Roudabush, John 107, 111
Rounds, Allie 113; Emma 113
Roy, James Charles 145
Rudibush, Emmanuel 107
Ruebush, J. 102
Ruffner, W. H. 103
Runkle, Jeremiah 106
Rush, Jas. 112
Russell, Annie 140

S

Saint-Gaudens, Augustus 126
Sallaz, A. P. 103
Salyards, Joseph 141
Sampsell, W. H. 102
Sandy, John 96, 112
Sapolio Soap 142
Scott, Winfield 123
Sears House Designer Showcase 141
Seawright Magnesians Springs 142
Secrist, A. J. 101, 102, 103
Select Architecture 13
Sellers, Dennis 84; Jerome H. B. 105; Margaret R. 105
Selma house 141
Sengers Mountain Lake Camping Resort 149
Seward, William H. 56
ShenanArts 25
Shenandoah Hotel 149



- Shenandoah Valley 7, 13
Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1862 121
Shenandoah Valley, settlement 9, 60
Shenandoah Valley Railroad 140
Shenandoah's Pride 145
Sheppe, Arthur T. 140
Sheridan, Philip H. 125, 144
Sherman, Ellen 127; William
 Tecumsah 31, 54, 126
Shickel, Peter 107
Shreckhise, J. M. 107
Shuey, G. A. 102; George E 107; T. F.
 95; Theodore G. 125
Shumate, A. J. 107; Albert 113; Alfred
 113; Thomas 4
Sieg, Addie 112, 115; David 96, 113,
 115; H. B. 111, 115; James 113;
 Martha A. 105; Paul 106, 107,
 113; Paul, Rev. 115; Paul. 115
*Siege of Washington: The Untold Story
of the Twelve Days That Shook
The Nation* 122
Siffart, Jacob 107
Simmons, C. E. 108
Simpson, McDuff 106
Singer Sewing Machine 142
Slack, Glenn O. 82
Slavery, in Staunton 22
Smallwood, L. H. 109
Smith, Benjamin Mosby 150; Gid 98;
 Jacob 107; John 76, 98; Ludwig
 106; "Rude" 110; Sallie 98
Smith Center (R.R.) for History and
 Art 149
Smith-Thompson House 141
Smylie, James H. 147
Snapp, S. R. 108
Sons of Temperance 111
South Iron Gate Co 142
Southern Seminary College 145
Spessard, D. S. 102
Spindle, A. 107
Spotswood, Alexander 60
Sproul, Arch 143
St. Clair, R. L. 141
St. James Methodist Church 107
St. Peters Lutheran Church 80
Stanardsville 61
Statton, G. W. 102; I. K. 102
Staunton Armory Museum 141
Staunton Braves 135
Staunton Chapter of the VFW 140
Staunton City Council 24
Staunton High School 141
Staunton Military Academy 148
Staunton National Cemetery 140
Staunton Opera House 140
Staunton Presbyterian Church 104
Staunton Spectator 32, 37, 140
Staunton, Virginia 122
Staunton-Augusta County Roll of
 Honor 140
Staunton-Monterey road 98
Steele, T. R. 109
Sterrett, Allie M. 105; F. F. 105; Frank
 97
Sterrett house 79
Sterrett Mill, 79
Stimson, Henry 137
Stinespring, C. W. 102
Stollwerck Chocolate 142
Stone, J. B. 113
Stonewall Brigade Band 141, 145
Stonewall Cemetery (Winchester) 27
Stonewall Jackson Prayer Tree 146
Stony Point 10, 17, 18, 20
Stoutamyer, E. V. 99, 108
Stover, E. V. 105; Frank 113; George
 113; Huff 113; J. G. 101, 113; J. H.
 111, 113; J. McNair 113
Stribling Springs 97
Stuart Hall 148
Stuart House 148
Stuart, J. E. B. 33; Stella. 94; V. B. 101
Stuarts Draft 8
Stump (J. H.) House 10, 15, 19
*Sunrise-Sunset: The Battle of Cedar
Creek, A Civil War Novel* 125
Swift Run 61
Swoope 34

T
Talbot, G. A. 106
Taliaferro, William H. 144
Tarr, Edward 1-6



Taylor & Boody Organs 141
Taylor, Susie D. 143; Zachary 128
Tebbs, Fonshee C. 97, 108
Temple, J. H. 108
Thacker, Sam 79
Theatre Wagon 25
Thomas, Alexander 23; Elizabeth 23
Thornrose Cemetery 27, 28, 34, 40
Timber Ridge Meeting House 5
Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church 18
Tip Top store 99, 112
Tise, J. M. 107
Todd, Sheelah 150; David 150
Traveller 46
Trimble, John 97
Trinity Episcopal Church 140, 148
Trinity Point Farm 84
Trinity Point Mill 114
Trinterud, Leonard J. 147
Truman, Harry 134
Turner, Herbert 140
Tyler, John 128

U

U. B. Parsonage, Churchville 98
U.S. Military Academy (West Point) 45
U.S. Supreme Court 138
Ulster-Scots 145
Union Apple Company 97
Union Church 103, 105
United Brethren Church, Churchville
98, 107, 113
United Brethren Church in Virginia
103
University of the South 42
University of Virginia 42

V

Valley Baseball League 135
*(The) Valley Baseball League: A
History of Baseball in the Shenan-
doah Valley*, 134
Vallier, Oliere D. 68, 74
Van Buren, Martin 128
Van Lear house 79
Van Lear land 81
Varner Collection 139
Vinegar Hill 63

Virginia Cooperative Milk Producers
Association 145
Virginia School for the Deaf and the
Blind 141
Virginia recruitment (Civil War) 28
Voting Rights Act of 1965 133

W

Waddell, Littleton 112; Littleton, Jr.
105; Littleton, Sr. 105; Maggie E.
104; William 105
Walker, R. C. 103, 106; C. J. 23
Walters, B and Mrs. Walters 104; B.
105; Benajah 103; Elizabeth 104
Warden & Co. Booksellers 143
Warm Springs road 97
Warren, Earl 136
(The) Warrenton Index 39
(The) Washington Bee 39
Washington & Lee 42, 43, 120
Washington DC in 1861 122
Washington, George 1, 43; Willie S. 24
Watts, Ann D. 143; Bettie M. 143
Waynesboro Telegraph and Telecom-
munications 150
Weaver, Chaz 135; Herbert Augustus
141
Webster, Richard 147
Weikle, W. P. 109
Weller (Charles L.) Boots and Shoes
142
Weller, Malcomb R. 140
Wesleyan Female Institute 148
Western Lunatic Asylum 34
Western State Hospital 141
Wharton, James E. 140
Wheeler & Brown, 112
Whiskey Creek 63, 81, 84, 111, 115
White, Margaret 113; W. C. 103;
William Chester 106
White Sewing Machine Co 142
White Star Mills 142
Whitesell, J. E. 101, 102; P. 102
Whitmore Hotel 143
Wiencek, Henry 129
Williams, Richard G. 144
Willis, James 107
Wilmer, Joseph P. B. 46



Wilson (Woodrow) Birthplace 141
Wilson, Annie 99, 112; George W. 104;
H. A. 108; James 104, 105, 113;
Wilson, Jos. A 101, 113, 114;
Joseph 96, 112; M. C. L. 112;
Margaret H. 104; Osborne 144;
William W. 108
Wine, Emmert Ashby 142; S. K. 102
Winfree, J. H. H. 106, 113; John 113
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 3
Wirz, Henry 54
Wolfe, John W. 108
Woodland Periods of Indian culture 76
Woodson, John and Jane 99
Worcester, Battle of 145
Work Progress Administration 7
World War II 140, 143.
Wright, B. F. 109

Y

Young, R. N. 103
Yount, Joseph B. 142

Z

Zahn, Z. W. 102



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